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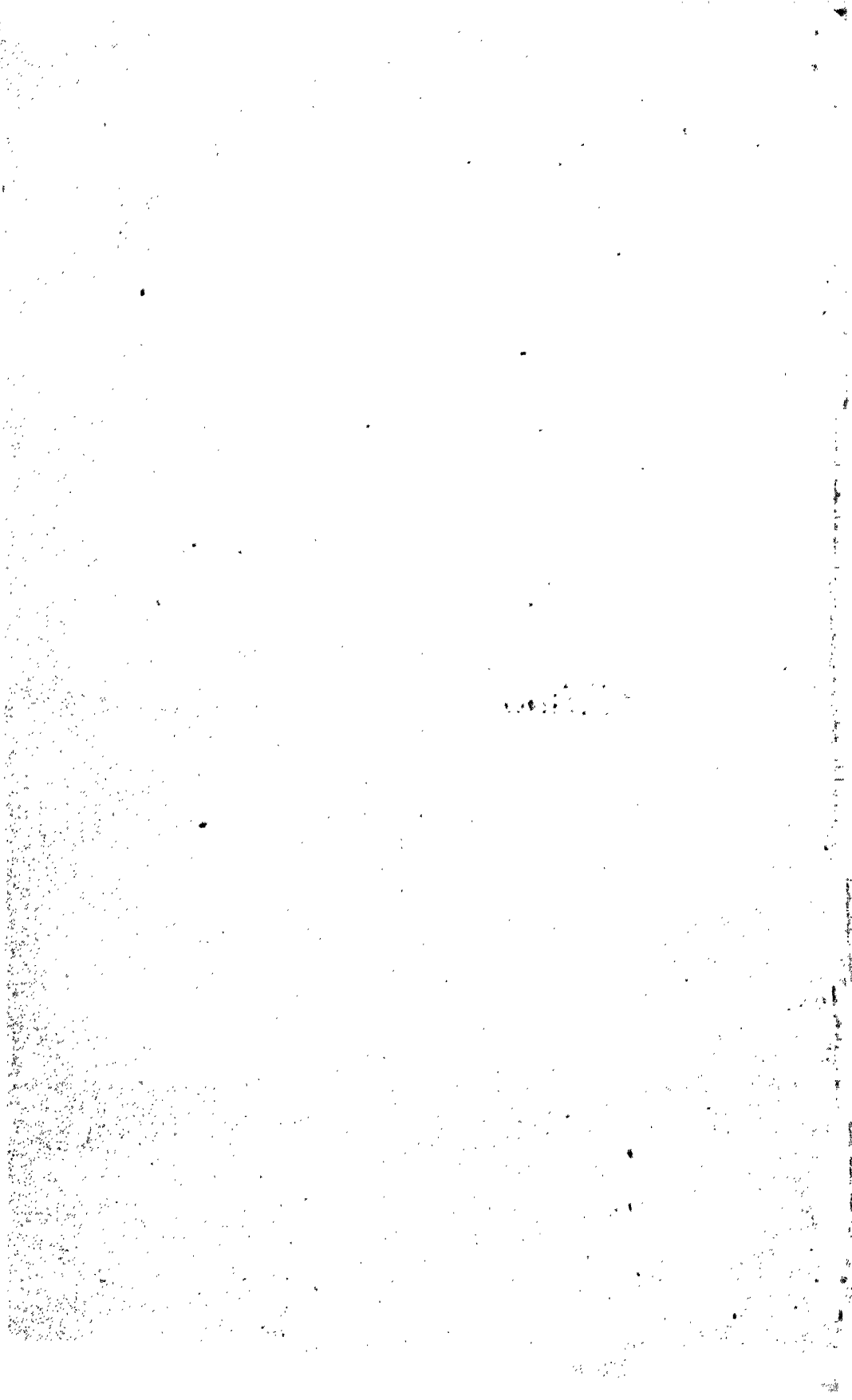
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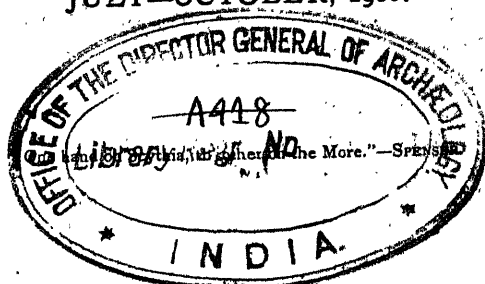
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THE IMPERIAL  
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*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
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JULY, 1906.

AN INDIAN MILITIA FOR INDIA'S  
DEFENCE.\*

BY S. S. THORBURN, I.C.S. (RETIRED).

THOUGH Russophobia dates back to the beginning of the last century, costly action to strengthen our position in Northern India against attack by Russia only began in 1838, when for the first time we invaded Afghanistan. Soon afterwards, under the same obsession, we conquered and annexed Sindh (1842) and the Punjab (1849), thus extending our dominion to the line of the Indus. There, for the next twenty-five years, we sat still in fancied security, closing our eyes to Russia's progress towards us. We woke up in 1877-78 to find her in military possession of Central Asia as far south as the Oxus, and her envoy in Kabul negotiating a treaty with the Amir. To convince the latter that England, not Russia, was his friend, we drove him from his country, and after two years of warfare and vicissitude installed as his successor a friendly and capable member of his family, engaging that so long as he held no intercourse with the rival Power, and left the management of all his foreign affairs to us, we should pay him annually a fixed subsidy, and guarantee the integrity of his kingdom.

Though at the time the territories comprising it were

\* The discussion on this paper will appear in the report of the Proceedings of the East India Association in our next issue.

known and loosely described, the exact boundaries had nowhere been clearly ascertained and defined; hence, before the engagement could become effective, the delimitation of Afghanistan with Russia, Persia, and India was necessary. Work in the field was soon after begun, and, in spite of delays, difficulties, and the Panjdeh crisis in 1885, has been slowly and thoroughly carried through, with the result that all the States and tribes, parties to the operations, have exact knowledge of their common frontiers and the political relations subsisting between them. In each case the actual boundary-lines, marked by cairns of stones or mounds of soil, and the lands adjacent thereto, have been mapped in a way which would compare favourably with the Ordnance Survey sheets of English counties.

In prosecuting the work, once preliminaries were settled by negotiations, Russia was slow, determined, but fairly reasonable, and Persia evasive and obstructive. Our greatest troubles occurred in surveying and fixing the lines between the eastern front of Afghanistan and the Pathan tribes occupying the mountain ranges immediately west of the valley of the Indus. However, after twenty years of persistence, and the expenditure of many lives and much treasure, the whole series of operations—with one small exception in Mohmand territory—has at last been accomplished, and India has now a triple line of defence against aggression by Russia—viz., (1) Afghanistan, a buffer State; (2) the belt of highlands between our actual and Afghan frontiers, held by a number of independent Pathan tribes within our exclusive sphere of influence, and extending for 500 miles from the Pamirs to Biluchistan; and (3) our actual frontier, mostly acquired in 1849, loosely described as the valley of the Indus.

The strength of our most advanced and weakest line depends on the will and ability of the two responsible powers—the Amir of Afghanistan and the British Cabinet of the day—to fulfil their respective obligations. Whether or no we should have the power—assuming the will—to do

our duty would depend upon the number of soldiers we should be able to put in the fighting line and maintain there, and the amount of loss we could inflict upon Russia by the blockade of her ports and destruction of her sea-borne commerce. The strength of our second line, the western hinterlands of the Pathan highlanders just beyond our actual frontier, is problematical ; it corresponds with the "scientific frontier" of the late Lord Lytton, and has some excellent defensive positions, which it would be difficult to turn or take if the local tribes were with us—an "if" upon which no reliance will ever be possible, depending as it would upon the success of our arms in the field and the amount of well-paid service which we should give the tribesmen.

The strength of the third line, that actually held by us, is enormous, the eastern ends of the only two present-day army approaches to India, those *via* the Khyber on the north and Kandahar and Biluchistan on the south, being strongly fortified and garrisoned, the former at Peshawar and Rawal Pindi, the latter at Quetta. In addition, all the secondary positions of strategic value throughout the Indus valley are interconnected by railways, which are linked up with the main lines of the Indian peninsula. So satisfactory is this, our ultimate line of defence—a glacis of roadless mountains and unproductive wilds for a depth of 400 miles beyond it, and behind it all the resources of the Indian Empire ready to hand—that *if we had a sufficient number of reliable troops to hold it*, and were not bound by treaty to defend Afghanistan, the two more advanced lines might be wholly disregarded, and we might await in perfect security the slow and exhausting nearer approach of Russia towards the Indus.

The crux of the problem of defence was, is, and long will continue to be, that contained in the italicized words in the last sentence. Until the middle of the seventies, the advocates of inaction, with whom the Liberals identified themselves, had reason in their contention that the forward



policy was unwise—premature at least, as Russia's outposts were still separated from India by many hundred miles of sterile, difficult country, through which no large army could penetrate and survive as an organized field force, and that consequently, India being poor and already secure, her resources should be spent internally on improvements, and not externally in forcing our friendship upon Afghanistan, and probably provoking a quarrel with Russia. When, however, that Power reached the Oxus and began intriguing with the Kabul Government, public opinion in England realized that a new situation had been created which demanded from us energetic action of some sort, and before 1885 had generally endorsed the Conservative policy of delimitation, and the assumption of responsibility for the preservation of Afghanistan as a buffer State.

By guaranteeing the integrity of Afghanistan we advanced India's political frontier to the Russo-Afghan delimited line, and have since stood committed to defend it against aggression by Russia. When undertaking that obligation we doubtless supposed that, should events in Europe or Persia induce our rival to put our ability to the test, we should have the power to prove it, and to further secure the desired result we augmented our Anglo-Indian army by 10,000 British and 20,000 newly-raised Indian troops. Had we foreseen that before the passing of a generation Russia would be in a position to seize Herat and occupy Afghan territory up to the Hindu Kush before we could put a single division in Kandahar, and, further, that for every man we could maintain in the fighting line Russia would be able to keep five, it may be doubted whether we should have undertaken responsibilities so hopelessly beyond our means of performance as they were and still are.

What changed the whole situation was the rapid completion of Russia's system of strategic railways up to her Afghan frontier—two lines linked up with her European systems, one on the south, from the Caspian to Merv, the Oxus, and Andijan, and the other on the north, from

Orenburg, in South-Western Siberia, connecting with it, supplemented by a branch extension from Merv to Kushk, a military outpost and depot only two forced marches from Herat. Even so equipped, we doubted whether Russia would be able to place and feed more than two or three divisions in Afghan Turkestan. Her recent war with Japan has now demonstrated that she could at any time maintain there or nearer the Indus, not 50,000, but 500,000 troops. In Manchuria, 5,500 miles from Moscow, and connected with it by the frail thread of a single-line railway, with a long break at Lake Baikal, she recently placed and supplied for eighteen months over half a million of soldiers. What she did in the Far East she could very easily do in the Middle East, at less than half the distance from her bases, with two railways in rear, and continuous sources of supply conveniently near the theatre of war—viz., Southern Russia, Persia, South-Western Siberia, and the more productive of her Central Asian districts. These sources are capable of contributing quite as much food to an army in Afghanistan as South-Eastern Siberia, Mongolia, and Northern Manchuria did in the late war to the Russian forces in the field. If, instead of forcing war upon Japan, Russia had thrown her weight upon Afghanistan, with India as her ultimate objective, she would have had a fair chance of overwhelming all the fighting forces of Afghanistan, India, and Great Britain combined. Fortunately for us, she preferred the line of most, not least, resistance, and is now for many years to come impotent for serious aggression against a first-class Power.

Even without the reserve of strength afforded by our happy alliance with Japan, we have now ample time wherein to solve the problem of India's defence against invasion. Being now a Continental Power, with a frontier which must be defended, marching with that of Russia for 700 miles, and she being almost invulnerable to our navy, how can we so increase our land forces as to be in a position to fight her on equal terms somewhere between the Oxus and the Indus? That is the problem. Whether

in the event of her seizing Herat we should, under any conditions, attempt to expel her by direct attack is a question which may be deferred for another generation, by which time Russia may be again aggressive, and we may have an army fit to oppose her. At present we have in India 220,000 soldiers, one-third of them British, the rest Indian. Of this Anglo-Indian army, 70,000 are already stationed in the Punjab and its two connected trans-Indus provinces, and that number will probably be raised to 100,000 within the next ten years. We have also scattered over India 30,000 volunteers, all Britishers, and some 20,000 Imperial Service troops. Though the aggregate—270,000 men—is considerable, less than half would, in an emergency, be available for active trans-Indus service; and of our field force a considerable portion—the fraction depending on the theatre of war and the disposition of the intervening tribes—would be required to protect our lines of communication. As regards the troops retained on our actual frontier and cis-Indus, it must be remembered that we could not denude our Empire Dependency of its soldiers, garrisons being necessary for its strong places, arsenals, cities, and some districts and towns; nor would it be possible to call out the volunteers generally to replace troops moved forwards, because 12,000 of them are railway employés, and of the others the bulk are serving the Government in some capacity. Then, too, some of our Indian regulars—many of those recruited in the Deccan, for instance—are unfit for arduous warfare in Afghanistan, a mountainous country with a severe climate.

If we take 100,000 men as an extreme estimate of the number of troops we could put in our fighting line, and add thereto 30,000 half-trained and uncertain Afghans, and if we assume that this mixed Anglo-Indo-Afghan force could beat an equal number of Russian troops, our army in the field would still be overborne by the disciplined hordes Russia could hurl against it. Whence, then, are we to procure the additional troops necessary to defeat or wear

out the invader? The question has never yet been fairly faced and answered.

For some years now we here at home have been tinkering with our little British army, but, improve it as we may, until we enormously increase its numbers, we shall never in any crisis be able to spare, except at very great risk to ourselves, and at a cost which would be crippling, more than 40,000 to 50,000 foreign service soldiers as special reinforcements for India.

Lord Roberts recently, when appealing to the nation to adopt universal military training, pointed out that, in the contingency contemplated, it would be "imperative" that we should be in a position to put at least half a million British soldiers in the fighting line in Afghanistan, relegating the protection of our communications to Indian troops. That probably was intended as a counsel of perfection, for if we could mobilize a foreign service army of half a million men we should hardly waste it in Central Asia, but use it for counter-attack on Russia's Baltic littoral. By so doing we should reduce the cost per man by half or more, minimize our home risks from jealous European Powers, and force a quick issue; in Central Asia we might fight to mutual exhaustion without conclusive results in the field.

As it is obvious that, unless here in England we adopt the Continental military system—which is unlikely, our people shortsightedly relying on our navy and insularity, and shutting their eyes to outside factors—our small and costly home army will never be able to contribute largely for the defence of India, it follows that she must draw most of her material for that purpose from her own population. Dare we, then, take a new departure and convert a considerable fraction of that population into half-made soldiers? That is the question towards the solution of which I venture to offer some suggestions.

If we dare but hold that Indian troops, though recruited from the best available material, led by British officers,

and fighting in conjunction with British troops, are not sufficiently reliable to beat equal numbers of conscript Russians—*cadit quæstio*—we shall not be able to stem Russia's next movement towards India. On this preliminary point of quality I think the preponderance of expert opinion favours the belief that Sikhs, Ghoorkhas, Pathans, and after them the best classes of Hindu Jats, Rajputs, and Punjabi Musalmans, are as good fighting men as any in the world. Only a few months ago Sir Ian Hamilton, in his scrap-book on the first part of the Russo-Japanese War, recorded: "Every thinking soldier who has served on our recent Indian campaigns is aware that for the requirements of such operations a good Sikh, Pathan, or Gurkha battalion is more generally serviceable than a British battalion." In the next page he wrote: "Why, there is material in the North of India and in Nepaul sufficient and fit, under good leadership, to shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundations."

On the main question, that of trustworthiness, opinions will always differ. Certainly, for many years after the Mutiny we acted on a policy of distrust. Since early in the seventies our attitude has been gradually changing, as proved by the successive steps of the arming of the Indian troops with the same or as good a rifle as that in the hands of their British comrades, the establishment of corps of Imperial Service troops, the addition since 1885 of five new Indian mountain batteries to the six previously existing, and, finally, the partial introduction of Lord Kitchener's new distribution and concentration scheme.

Notwithstanding these indications of a broadening confidence in the loyalty of the most martial tribes and castes of India, the composition of our Anglo-Indian army continues to be one-third British to two-thirds Indian, and, with the exception of the mountain batteries just referred to, and one garrison battery, the whole of the artillery in India is British. Further, though from time to time Indians have petitioned to be enrolled as volunteers, and nothing in

the Indian Volunteers Act, 1869, as amended in 1896, shuts out any class of "loyal subjects" from so serving, Christianity, and a skin showing at least partial European descent, are still indispensable for eligibility.

Though it is true that, as a whole, our combined Anglo-Indian army constitutes India's defence against external enemies, it is equally true that the British third is more England's garrison in India than India's reserve of force against hostile movements from outside. The belief that justice is the basic principle on which the stability of our rule in India depends is no doubt correct, but ultimately it depends also on our power to enforce order, and this we preserve by maintaining the perfect equipoise of the forces of possible disturbance. To that end we determine the composition of the class and caste regiments of the Indian army, and the ratio of British to Indian troops.

This policy of equipoise, analogous between nations to what is called "the balance of power," is undoubtedly sound, but if we compare conditions in the sixties with those of the present time, it will, I think, be conceded that what may have been necessary or advisable then is so no longer. Progress in education, great industries, communications by sea and land, and world knowledge acquired by reading, observation, and travel, has borne in upon all Indians of insight and intelligence a reasonable conception, if not of their citizenship in the British Empire, at least of the solid advantages enjoyed by them from their place in it; and as to the masses whose aspirations hardly extend beyond the next full meal, they know that their daily bread is more secure under the British Government than it would be under either of the two possible alternatives, Russian or Home rule.

If the above views of the oneness of India with our Empire be accepted, the desired equipoise *quâ* forces inside India would be preserved were we to considerably reduce not only the numbers of the Anglo-Indian army, but the standard ratio of its white to its brown constituents as well. India, however, being liable to land attack by Russia, and

in a minor degree by France also, requires for her security an army fully twice as numerous as that which she now possesses, and as limitations of men and money render it difficult or impossible for us to send her large reinforcements from this country, the best and most economic means for increasing her defensive forces would be, I believe, by the creation of an Indian militia.

About fifteen years ago, in conjunction with a brother civilian, now the head of a department under the Government of India, I submitted proposals on the subject to the military authorities, and there the matter ended; we were told our ideas were impracticable, as they involved a departure from the established proportion between the British and Indian soldiers. Perhaps, in view of the circumstances sketched above, the subject may now be considered, examined, and decided upon its merits.

Recruitment for the militia would, of course, be by voluntary enlistment. Since 1880 Indians have from time to time petitioned to be enrolled as volunteers, but, so far, the movement has been confined to urban "intellectuals," particularly Bengalis, a class which, however loyal and patriotic, would be unfit to resist Russians or the Afghan climate. For militia service we should have to draw, certainly in the first instance, on the hardiest of the cis-Indus peasantry of Northern India, namely, on those tribes and classes who supply most of the Punjabi recruits for the army—Sikhs, Jats, Rajputs, and the group loosely congregated in the Army List as "Punjabi Musalmans," in which term are included the many branches of Pathans and Biluches who are settled in the districts immediately east of the Indus. All are of good physique, inured to hardships, and imbued with fighting traditions; hence for rough campaigning under any conditions it would be difficult to find better raw material.

Though army service is generally popular with them, they are, Sikhs excepted, so numerous that the great bulk of their active manhood remain in their villages occupying

themselves in husbandry and other rural pursuits for nearly nine months in the year. For three and a half, from about the middle of November to the end of February, there is little or nothing for them to do in the field. The cold weather, then, the busiest time for soldiers, is the idlest for agriculturists. In those months they would be proud and happy to serve the Government in any capacity, provided that the work was honourable, remunerative, and, if possible, congenial and not very far from home. No employment better fulfils the first three provisos than soldiering, and service in a tribal and territorial militia would further fulfil the last. Thus the Government has ready to hand a practically unlimited source of supply for an Indian militia of the best quality, and if the matter be taken up and wisely and considerately worked, I am certain—and I lived amongst and interested myself in the Punjab peasantry for over thirty years—that by the time when Russia will have recovered from the effects of her last war and its domestic consequences, we should be able to put as large an army in the field against her as she is ever likely to move and maintain south of the Oxus, if not in Afghan-Turkestan, certainly cis-Hindu Kush, in which case India's preparedness would be the best possible guarantee for Russia's peacefulness.

From the following statement the fields of enlistment in each part of the Punjab and the British cantonments within each area of population will be seen at a glance :

Tribe or Class.	Approximate Numbers (Census of 1901).	Locality of Densest Population.	British Cantonments within the Locality.
Sikhs ...	2,200,000	Central plains	Lahore, Amritsar, and Jallunder
Jats (mostly Hindus)	5,000,000	South - East and Mid-Punjab	Ferozepore and Umbala
Rajputs (mixed)	1,800,000	Eastern hills and generally eastern half of the province	Jallunder and Umbala
Punjabi Musalmans	3,000,000	Western plains and Salt Range	Rawal Pindi and Multan



Out of the aggregate 12,000,000, the males between twenty and forty years of age would certainly be one in eight, or 1,500,000, from a sixth to a third of whom would probably be keenly eager to serve in the militia. Whether the establishment of an Indian militia on a large scale will be practicable, safe, and a good investment, or the reverse, can only be proved after giving the experiment a fair trial. Personally, I am convinced that it is the only possible form of insurance against invasion, risks, and scares open to us. Some of the grounds for this opinion have already been given.

All interested in India know that the peasant and yeoman proprietary of the Punjab are sturdy, laborious, manly, and very poor; that the land revenue annually collected from each holding does not average more than thirty shillings; and that Government employment in the agriculturists' idle season would be very popular. It may not be so well known that in their villages the soldier is the most honoured, the *muafidar* the most envied of men; the latter term means the holder of a *muafi* or revenue-free parcel of land. If, then, the Government, in addition to paying the militiaman at military rates during his few weeks of annual training, were also to grant him a small *muafi* on all or some of his unmortgaged fields, not only would almost every small farmer volunteer, but the prize of a *muafi* would be a spur to his speedily mastering his drill in cantonment and practising thrift in his village. Once an "effective," four or five weeks' training in each subsequent year would probably suffice to keep him up to standard. As after each course his rifle and uniform—excepting, perhaps, some symbol of his honourable calling to wear on occasion at home—would be kept for him by the military authorities, he would, whilst a civilian, revert to his position in the body politic of unarmed peasant. In the event of being called out to prepare for active service, probably a few months of hard drilling and rifle practice would qualify him for duty on the line of communications; thence, as regiment

after regiment approached the standard of the regulars, they would be pushed forward to feed the fighting line.

As regards risk, it is hard to see where the element of possible danger to our security comes in. *Per se* a drilled but unarmed peasant *muafidar* must be a better supporter of order than an ignorant yokel, whose world knowledge only extends to his village boundary. The annual expense of drill in a large cantonment would prove a liberal education for him. After all, too, even were risk possible it should be faced. There is no alternative. We must safeguard the land approaches to India, and that is impossible unless we can at short notice double our fighting forces in India. As we have not the men or, for that matter, the money to put and keep in the fighting line trans-Indus 100,000 British troops—Lord Roberts demands five times that number—we have no alternative but to use Indians for India's defence.

As regards the value of the investment, the upkeep of a militia force 100,000 strong would be less than that of 20,000 Indian or 8,000 British troops: hence the cost would not be great; moreover, the whole of the money would circulate in the country. The heaviest outlay would occur during the first two years from the date of raising each regiment, as arms, kit, shelter, would all have to be provided, and the period of training would be longer than afterwards. As a small set-off, there would at first be a saving in the recurring item of *muafies* for efficient. Then, too, the scheme would come into full operation very gradually, and would probably be worked out, once the experimental stage was passed and success assured, in such a way that by the time that the initial expenditure of constitution of regimental units had practically ceased to appear in the militia budgets, the complement of strength, whether 100,000 or more, would be reached.

In elaborating the scheme the matter of greatest difficulty would be the provision of British officers. In peace-time probably two per regiment would suffice. If the existing

complement with mounted infantry regiments were increased by that number, the Indian army might be drawn upon during the training periods for that purpose. How best to meet the case of a general mobilization for active service, when hundreds of additional British officers would be required, is a problem of detail to be solved by forethought and expenditure. It would be easy to provide and distribute them throughout India until the contingency contemplated should arise, but the expense would be considerable and the waste of good material great, as the finding of full peace employment for such large numbers of Englishmen would be hardly practicable. Whatever the ultimate cost of an Indian militia adequate to India's necessities, whether it add 10 per cent. or more to her present military budget, the price paid for insurance would be small.

## BALUCHISTAN.\*

BY COLONEL C. E. YATE, C.S.I., C.M.G.

BALUCHISTAN, the frontier province, of which I was the Chief Commissioner from 1900 to 1904, contains a total area of 132,000 odd square miles—that is, some 11,000 square miles larger than England, Scotland, and Ireland put together, or some 21,000 square miles larger than the whole of Italy.

The province extends from the Gumal Pass, near Dera Ismail Khan, in the north-east, right down to the sea at Gwettar, on the Persian border in the south-west. Regarding the eastern frontiers adjoining the North-west frontier province, the Punjab and Sind, I need not say anything—that is all internal India. The northern portion of Baluchistan directly administered by the British Government is divided into five districts—viz., Zhob, Loralai, Sibi, Quetta-Peshin, and Chagai. The first four of these are each controlled by a political agent, or deputy commissioner in charge, with one assistant to help him. Chagai, which is the latest addition to our administered territories, has as yet only one assistant in charge of it; and though in actual extent, some 19,000 square miles, Chagai greatly exceeds the other districts, still, it is very sparsely populated, and the time has only lately come when more detailed administrative machinery is a necessity. Considering, however, the importance of the Seistan trade route which passes through it, more especially now that the railway has reached Nuski, I trust the Government of India will soon give the officer in charge the same status as those in charge of the other districts, and also an assistant to work under him. When I succeeded Sir Hugh Barnes in the charge of the province in 1900, the whole of the country, from the Gumal

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on the north to Sibi in the south was administered by two district officers only. Each district averaged over 14,000 square miles in extent, and as time went on, and administration became more complex, the officers in charge found it impossible to give the outlying portions of their districts the supervision that was necessary. The Government of India, I am glad to say, agreed to my proposals to divide the area into three districts instead of two, and the central portion was, therefore, taken away and formed into the new district of Loralai—so named from the cantonment which forms its headquarters—and the size of the Zhob and Sibi districts was thus reduced to more workable limits. At the same time, the consent of His Highness the Khan of Kalat was obtained to the lease, on a fixed quit-rent, of the strip of country running along the Sind border to the north of Jacobabad, known as the Khan's lands. This small strip, belonging to the Khan of Kalat, but irrigated by British canals from Sind, had long been the cause of much trouble, owing to the unsatisfactory state of the Khan's administration, and its transfer to British rule was a relief to all concerned, and especially to the people themselves.

Thus the whole of Northern Baluchistan, stretching from the Gumal Pass on the north to Chagai on the south-west and the Khan's lands on the south-east, a tract of some 53,000 square miles in extent (including the Marri and Bugti country, which is tribal territory), is governed by five district officers with four assistants, a total of nine British officers in all this great extent of territory. One revenue and judicial commissioner controls them all in those two branches of the administration, and I don't suppose that ten British officers can show better results in any part of the world. The rule of these ten Britishers—one officer, roughly speaking, to an average of some 5,000 odd square miles—is a magnificent testimony to the strength and power of our Indian Administration.

Considering the importance of Baluchistan, both in a

political and military sense, in case of war on the frontier, the wildness of the tribesmen and the constant fights, disputes, and disturbances connected with land, women, cattle, and everything, in fact, that man holds dear, that are continually going on amongst them, the constant and strong personal rule which British officers alone can give is a necessity, and the British element in the Baluchistan administration should be extra strong; but this can hardly be said to be the case at present.

There are many questions connected with the internal administration of Baluchistan that I could touch upon, many of them peculiar to Baluchistan, and all affording an interesting study, but they are foreign to our subject. I may simply mention that, before I left Baluchistan, I had the good fortune to receive a special grant from the Government of India of 10,000 rupees for the construction of a boarding-house to be attached to the Sandeman High School at Quetta for the accommodation of the sons of sirdars and headmen who may be sent in there for their education; and now that the chiefs will be able to place their sons under proper supervision in a well-constituted boarding-house, I hope education amongst the upper classes of the province will make more rapid progress than it has hitherto done.

Another grant was also given us for the construction of a library and museum, which building was well in hand before I left. I trust that before long a really comprehensive collection of books bearing upon Central Asia will be the distinguishing feature of this library. I did my best to get as many of these books together as I could before I left, and my successors, I hope, will continue the work. The library and museum has been erected close to the beautiful Sandeman Memorial Hall at Quetta, in which the autumn meeting of the Shahi Jirga, composed of all the native chiefs of the province, is held. The spring meeting is held at Sibi in the plains, where, at my suggestion, a roomy hall was erected in 1902 by the chiefs, officials, and

people of Baluchistan to perpetuate the memory of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, so that Baluchistan is now gradually becoming fairly well provided with public buildings.

So much for the northern portion of the province, which we may call, in a general way, British Baluchistan.

The southern portion of the province is all native territory, and here we have one political agent with two assistants controlling the whole country from the Bolan Pass right down to the sea, a country nearly 80,000 square miles in extent, and one of the most difficult and important charges of its kind in the whole of India. There are two minor territorial chiefs, the Jam of Las Bela and Sir Nouroz Khan of Kharan, but the Khan of Kalat is the nominal ruler of the country. After all, though, His Highness the Khan is only *primus inter pares* amongst all the Brahui and Baluch sirdars, of which the Kalat confederacy is composed, and it was the revolt of these chiefs from the Khan's authority that first led to British interference, resulting in Sir Robert Sandeman's settlement, known as the Mastung Treaty of 1876. Since that date, the power of the tribal chiefs has increased rather than decreased, and the power of the Khan, as the leading factor of the country, is no longer what it was in olden days.

Kalat is like no part of India that I know of, in that the Khan takes no revenue from the chiefs, and the chiefs take no revenue from the people, so that the income both of the Khan and of the sirdars, or chiefs of tribes, is, except partly in the south, entirely derived from the lands owned by themselves individually. The territory owned by His Highness the Khan is divided up into various districts, called Niabats, each under its own Naib, or local governor. Each chief has his own family lands, in virtue of the chiefship he holds, and we thus have the Khan at the head of the confederacy as chief landowner, and some fifty sirdars, or chiefs of tribes, each holding lands in various degrees, and each controlling their own particular tribesmen. Under the agreement of Mastung of 1876, all important disputes

between the various sirdars and tribesmen come up for settlement before the political agent, and are disposed of, under his orders, by Jirgas, or assemblies of chiefs and headmen, or by Shariat, that is, Muhammadan Law, or by arbitration, as the case may be. In such a huge tract of country it is impossible for any one British officer to get to know the various chiefs and tribesmen properly in the ordinary tenure of a political officer's appointment. What with illness, leave, and transfers generally, no officer remains long, as a rule, nowadays in any one appointment, and successful administration is thus all the more difficult, and especially so in Kalat. In Baluchistan every effort should be made to prevent a constant change of officers.

The Baluchis and Brahuïs of Southern Baluchistan are large camel and sheep owners, and are nomads and graziers more than cultivators. In case of war we should draw on them largely for transport, and, in fact, camel registration has been successful beyond all expectation in Baluchistan, and arrangements have been completed for the enlistment of many camel corps both from Pathans and Baluchis in case of necessity. As an instance of what can be done, a complete camel corps was enlisted and despatched to Somaliland during the operations there a couple of years ago within a space of ten days, and many such corps could be enlisted and sent off to any part of the world with equal celerity. The Pathan and Baluch has no objection to crossing the sea; in fact, a large portion of the camelmén in Western Australia hail from Baluchistan, and they are still constantly coming and going to and fro.

It is not only, however, in camels that Baluchistan offers such a fine field for recruitment. Every day the desire for enlistment amongst the men is more and more marked. The first step to further this desire for enlistment amongst the Baluch tribesmen is to enlist them in a local levy corps, the frontier term for what corresponds in Baluchistan to our yeomanry and militia at home. As yet only two such levy corps exist in Baluchistan: one in the north, known



as the Zhob Levy Corps, composed almost entirely of Pathans, and one in the south, known as the Mekran Levy Corps, composed of Baluchis and Brahuïs from Kalat. In the Zhob Levy Corps the press of men to enlist is becoming greater every day, and the sirdars and people thoroughly identify themselves with the corps in every way. Owing to the impossibility of entertaining all applicants, the desire to enlist in regular regiments is getting stronger and stronger, so much so that the Zhob Pathans are beginning to look upon it as a grievance that recruiting in the two local Baluchistan regiments is closed to them. I hope that, before long, the Punjabis and the Sikhs in these Baluchistan regiments may be eliminated, and that not only both regiments may be made Baluchistan regiments in reality as well as in name by the enlistment of only local men, but that a third battalion may also be raised to complete the centre. It is a curious thing that in England we have been doing our utmost to make our regiments territorial, and yet in India, where we have our local and territorial regiments, we are doing just the contrary.

The Brahuïs and Baluchis in the Mekran Levy Corps are hardy tribesmen, inured from early youth to long-distance rides, and who in time of war would make excellent scouts, and would also be reliable men in case of internal disturbance in India. We have, at present, three Baluch regiments in the Indian Army, but they have only two companies of Baluchis each instead of eight, and the system of recruitment by recruiting-parties under non-commissioned officers is not of the best. The real way to get the right stamp of men is to obtain the help and co-operation of the sirdars and chiefs of tribes by getting them to give a son, a brother, or a cousin of their own as a native officer, with the required complement of their own tribesmen as sepoy. These tribesmen, doubtless, are wild and unused to discipline, and inclined to break the bonds of restraint; but one has to remember that the generation which knew not the British Government has not yet passed away. The

wildness is gradually wearing off, and the generation to come will probably take to discipline without a murmur. Thus the day is not far distant when Baluchistan will become a most valuable recruiting-ground, and every penny spent now in raising local levy corps, and in thus inducing a spirit of discipline amongst the people, will bear good fruit hereafter. Indeed, without levy corps properly armed and disciplined under the command of British officers—something after the fashion of the old Punjab frontier force when first raised—I do not see how the district officers in Baluchistan can be expected to maintain proper control over their frontiers in peace-time, or throughout their districts in time of war, when the regular troops will be called away. The police maintained in Baluchistan are mostly enlisted in India, and are employed almost entirely on the railway line and at headquarters of districts and Tehsils, and it is properly-armed levies or militia that we have to look to for the preservation of law and order in the outlying districts and along the frontier, where Indian police and regular troops are equally out of place.

The raising of the Mekran Levy Corps and the appointment of an assistant to the political agent of Kalat, for the special charge of Mekran, was one of Lord Curzon's last administrative measures before I left Baluchistan. At present Mekran is ruled by an uncle of the principal Sarawan Sirdar under the supervision of the political agent; but the hold of the Nazim, as he is styled, over the country, is not sufficient to enable him to carry out reforms or to introduce really efficient administration; and the sanction for the raising of a local levy corps, to guard the frontier from Persian raids, and for the appointment of a British officer to control our frontier relations and to support the Nazim in his administration and facilitate trade, will, I hope, have most beneficent results.

Now, to turn to the western, or external frontiers of the province. On the north we first of all have to deal with the Waziri country—that hitherto lawless tract which has

given so much trouble in former years, and whose people have been so prone to raids. Since the Mahsud-Waziri blockade, the one frontier operation during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, things have mended greatly, though the danger of fresh outbreaks is always present. Leaving the Gumal River at Domandi we come to Afghan territory, and this extends for no less a distance than some 800 miles of frontier in a general south-westerly direction till we come to Koh-i-Malik Siah, on the Persian frontier—the small hill that marks the tribeyt of our Indian Empire, Persia, and Afghanistan.

The Baluchistan frontier, on its northern side, is guarded by a chain of posts held by the Zhob Levy Corps, extending from the Gumal Pass, on the Waziri border on the north-east, down along the Afghan border to the confines of the Zhob district, to the north of Hindabagh, on the south-west. The large tract of highland country along this portion of the Afghan border is known as Kakar Khorasan, and is a wild and comparatively little known part of Baluchistan, standing at an elevation of between 6,000 and 7,000 feet above sea-level, and almost entirely cut off from the rest of the district throughout the winter months. In spring and early summer it is one vast grazing-ground, inhabited by numbers of nomads with their herds of camels and sheep; but during the winter it is almost entirely deserted, except for the small settlements that are gradually springing up around the Zhob Levy Corps' outposts. I was much struck by the almost entire absence of cultivation when I travelled through this country; but the efforts that I directed to be made to induce cultivators to settle there will, I hope, show good results.

Another similar upland tract of country to the west of Kakar Khorasan is known as Toba, and stretches along the northern side of the Peshin district. This similarly is thickly occupied in summer, but is mostly deserted in winter, when the majority of the Achakzai tribesmen move down into Afghan territory on the western borders of the Registan

desert. This divided population, living one half of the year in British territory and the other half in Afghan territory, is one of the main causes of trouble on this part of the frontier. The original fault was the rendition to the Amir after the termination of the Afghan War of the small district called Shorawak, a little tract of land lying at the foot of the Khwajah Amran range and between that and the Registan desert. This outlying bit of territory had been taken over by us with Peshin under the treaty of Gundamak, and had been administered by us for some years, and it would have been much more politic both for the British and Afghan Governments had we retained Shorawak and constituted the Registan desert as the boundary between British territory and Kandahar. As it is, any man with a grievance, real or fancied, whether about family matters, land, cattle, wife, betrothal, or anything whatsoever, has only to cross over the Afghan border and raid back to his heart's content; whereas were the desert the frontier, he would, at any rate, have to go to the other side of it, and he would thus be too far away to do much harm. Reports of raids on this frontier have appeared in the papers of late, and though the border is now far, far quieter in this respect than when I first went to Baluchistan sixteen years ago; still there is always the possibility of trouble, and I trust the Government of India will eventually come to my opinion that the best way to put a stop to these local disturbances is to garrison the Peshin frontier with a properly organized local levy corps under British officers, as has already been done further north in Zhob. I should like to see not only a Peshin Levy Corps, but a Chagai Levy Corps, and another corps for service in the Loralai and Sibi districts as well.

Following the frontier westwards, the boundary-line passes through desert, uninhabited country. In the Chagai Hills, half-way along this portion of the frontier, there is an elevated bit of land known as Barabchah, some 5,000 feet or so above the sea-level, where it may be possible to

live in the summer out of the great heat and constant dust-storms of the plain below ; but unfortunately only half of this little plateau belongs to us, as the boundary-line runs through the middle of it. The original frontier in this part of the country ran along the northern edge of the desert only some eight or ten miles to the south of the Helmand, but for some unexplainable reason the Government of India permitted the late Amir to occupy and subsequently to claim the country all this way to the south, and finally gave it to him, and, as in the case of Shorawak, we have had cause to rue it ever since. Instead of having a comparatively straight run for our Persian trade-route from Nushki to Seistan, which might possibly have been arranged in exchange for the concessions given elsewhere, if the Government of India of that day could only have been induced to take the question up, merchants and traders have now to go all the way round by Koh-i-Malik Siah, and this of itself is a serious hindrance to trade.

From Koh-i-Malik Siah, the Persian frontier commences, and this runs for some 350 miles in a general southerly direction to the sea at Gwettar. This frontier, too, has had almost as many vicissitudes in its settlement as the Afghan frontier I have just referred to. The first portion from Koh-i-Malik Siah to Jalk is only a paper frontier, and has not yet been locally demarcated. In the Teheran Agreement negotiated by Sir Mortimer Durand in 1895, it was laid down that the boundary was to run in a straight line from Jalk to Koh-i-Malik Siah, and that in any deviation in local demarcation Persia was not to have more land than would be comprised in such a straight line. Just as the Amir was permitted to advance fresh claims in the case of the Helmand boundary, so was the Persian Government permitted to advance fresh claims in the case of the Jalk boundary, and the final result has yet to be seen.

It is a curious thing, but we have given way to Persian aggressiveness in almost every instance that I can think of along the Persian frontier. Take the case of Kuhak, a

little below Jalk. Kuhak was in dispute so long ago as the time of the Goldsmid Mission of 1872. It was then decided that it belonged to Kalat, and not to Persia. Despite this, Persia subsequently occupied it by force of arms. The Government of India submitted to the occupation, and Kuhak has remained Persian to the present day. We reap the loss of it now when Kuhak is blossoming into importance as a station on the new Central Persian Telegraph line, which will, in future, become our main line of telegraphic communication between England and India.

The aggressiveness shown by Persia in overrunning the country now known as Persian Baluchistan is only of comparatively recent date. A large portion of this country, more especially near the coast, formerly owed its allegiance to the Arab rulers of Muscat, and other places were nominally under Kalat; but the Arabs were gradually ousted, and so was the influence of the Khan of Kalat, and the result is that we now have a Persian Baluchistan bordering on a British Baluchistan, and there has been much friction resulting from this dual control.

The story of the pacification of the country on our side of the border—the country shown as Mekran on the map—takes us back only a few years. This is not the time to enter into an account of all Sir Robert Sandeman's endeavours to bring Mekran under proper government, or the various ups and downs that the Mekran administration has gone through of late years, or the successive expeditions that have been necessary to punish outrages. The last of these expeditions occurred at the end of 1901, and I mention it to show what little control Persia has over its so-called Baluchistan subjects. A Mekran outlaw was able to collect a body of no less than some 500 men, formed of contingents from the leading Baluch chiefs on the Persian side of the border, and to invade Mekran and to attack and plunder a village called Kuntidar, carrying off loot to the value of a lakh of rupees or more. The Persian Government were unable to punish the offenders, and while we

were vainly demanding the restitution of the stolen property, some of these very raiders returned and took possession of one of the little mud forts, of which there are so many in Mekran, known as Nodiz, in the Kej valley. The Nazim of Mekran lost no time in assembling his men and surrounding this fort, and there I found him when I arrived on the scene. I think it was the fifty-third day of the siege when I appeared, and the Nazim had no less than 1,000 men round the fort.

Major Showers, the political agent of Kalat, had been directed to march across country with a couple of mountain guns and a small cavalry escort, while I myself met him at Turbat in Kej with a couple of companies of infantry by the sea-route *viâ* Karachi and Gwadar. Major Showers, leaving the guns to follow, rode on to join me, and we went on to Nodiz together. The scene there was a curious one. In a ring outside the fort were the various parties of the Nazim's Mekranis in shelters and trenches of sorts, and the raiders defiant within; and so they might have remained to this day, for all they could do to each other, had we not appeared on the scene. As soon as the guns came up in the early morning of the following day, the men and mules had just an hour or so to water and feed—thinking nothing of having been on the march all night—and off we all went against the fort, the Nazim's men being told to stand fast in their shelters.

One thing that we badly require in India for use against mud towers and small forts in country where no wheeled artillery can go is a jointed Howitzer, or some sort of gun capable of throwing a heavy shell, and yet made in pieces light enough to be carried on camels. I tried my best to induce the Military Department in India to take this question up, and to supply Quetta with such a gun, but without result, I regret to say. In the case of Nodiz the mountain guns were practically useless against the walls of the fort, and could only knock down some of the battlements; but the fire of the outlaws, though hot for a time,

was reduced by the gallantry of the storming party, who got in by a hole in the wall, and the guns, being brought up to close quarters, finally battered down the building inside held by the last of the raiders, and the fort was ours. The two British officers who led the storming party were seriously wounded, and a few of our men were killed and wounded ; but the almost instantaneous attack and capture of the place, combined with the death or capture of all the raiders, so different in promptness and decision to the tactics of the people themselves during the two months preceding our arrival, had an extraordinary effect through the country generally, and I may say that Mekran has remained quiet ever since.

Major Showers subsequently proceeded into Persia with the troops who had captured Nodiz, where the Persian Governor-General of Kirman met him with a body of Persian troops, and the united forces then marched through the country and exacted reparation for the plunder of Kuntidar. Without the support of the British troops the Persians could never have done this, and though the Indian Government has always gone out of its way to assist and support the Persian Government in every possible manner, and, as in this case, even went to large expense to do the work that the Persian Government ought to have done for itself, I have never yet seen a case in which any gratitude has been shown to us by the Persian Government, or in which anything but obstruction has been shown to British officials and traders. The trouble and worry that has been given to our officers and traders in Seistan alone during the last few years has filled volumes. We have been doing everything we could in India to open up trade through Nushki with Persia ; but hitherto every Persian official has been against us, and the wonder is that trade has been carried on so well as it has. Whatever results have been obtained have been obtained by the dogged perseverance and patience of our Indian political service consular officers.

In Mekran itself the opening of the port of Pasni will, I



think, do much to facilitate trade. Lord Curzon visited Pasni at the conclusion of his memorable tour round the Persian Gulf in December, 1903, and held a Durbar there, at which I was present, together with the political agent and all the Mekran sirdars and headmen. His Excellency the Viceroy's speech on that occasion is one that will be long remembered by the latter. Since that date the road from Pasni to Turbat, Bolida, Panjghur, and Ladgasht has been, or is being, opened up, and the question of the erection of a small landing-stage at Pasni was being favourably considered by the Government of India when I left. If this landing-stage is built, Pasni will become the port of the Mekran coast, and will soon outrival Gwadar, which is a foreign port belonging to Muscat, and which only obtained pre-eminence owing to the fact that in former years it was the only port of call on the whole Mekran coast. The British India steamers now call regularly at Pasni; various traders have settled there, including several from Gwadar, and, amongst other results, the Customs contract for the first two years went up from 9,000 to 16,000 rupees. With a seaport of its own, Mekran trade is sure to go ahead. We must not forget, either, the military importance of the road now being opened up, giving us direct lateral communication from the sea to Eastern Persia and Southern Afghanistan.

One of the most serious questions on the Persian Baluchistan coast is the import of arms from Muscat. When I was last at Muscat, in 1902, a French trader was established at the place, through whom thousands of rifles and thousands of rounds of ammunition were annually imported. These were run across the Arabian Sea in native dhows, and landed in the secluded creeks along the Persian coast. The Persian authorities are unable to prevent this. Not only is every fort in Persian Baluchistan—and there are some very strong ones there—now filled with arms of precision, but the result is that the Persian Government in the future will be incapable of controlling the country on

their side of the border. Disturbances may break out there at any time, and we have to consider what the effect may be on our own administration in Mekran. The British Government is doing its best to help the Persian Government, in aiding it by every means in its power to prevent the importation of arms and ammunition; but the question is one of difficulty from a treaty point of view, and until the French Government consents to measures for the prevention of the import of arms into Muscat, comparatively little can really be done. Here, again, we are apparently suffering from the inability of our Government officials to look ahead and to provide for future contingencies. Muscat and Zanzibar were originally one, and anybody who is familiar with the history of those two Sultanates will remember how the French treaty of 1863 applied to both. When that portion of the treaty regarding Zanzibar was abrogated in return for the French occupation of Madagascar, there can be little doubt that, had the opportunity been taken to include Muscat in the negotiations, we might have effected an agreement that would have saved us, not only from our present difficulties, but from various others that have arisen there before this, and have given rise to much friction.

It is not Persia alone, though, that is affected by this trade. An article in the *Times* of February 13, 1906, headed "Rifle Selling in the Middle East," states that attention has now been drawn to the fact that a number of Martinis, with an Arabic inscription on them, have been imported into Afghanistan from the Persian Gulf, and are finding their way to the tribal country on the north-west frontier of India, where they are being sold at less than half of what was formerly the cost of such a rifle. This is most serious for India, and every effort will have to be made to prevent the trans-frontier tribesmen obtaining breech-loading weapons so cheaply, if the peace of the country is to be maintained.

It is true we have had a Hague arbitration lately on the right of Muscat dhows to fly the French flag, but we can

only hope that this will be followed up by the further action necessary to get at the root of the present evil regarding the importation of arms.

Now to turn to Russia.

We have had various communications in the newspapers of late on the subject of an understanding between England and Russia, and any understanding with Russia regarding Persia or Afghanistan naturally affects Baluchistan. One of the first of these communications was a telegram from the *Times* correspondent at St. Petersburg, published on October 14 last, in which a Russian advocate of such an understanding stated that Russia sought no modification whatever of the *status quo* in Afghanistan or Tibet; that, as regards Persia, Russian policy was the policy of the open door, and, as regards Afghanistan, Russia strictly adhered to existing treaties.

Another of these communications was an article by a Russian writer, described by the Paris correspondent of the *Times* in his telegram to that paper published on November 22 last. The Russian writer stated that "the understanding would comprise a formal Russian guarantee of the inviolability of India and Afghanistan; a delimitation of purely commercial spheres of influence in Persia; an understanding concerning Turkish affairs, in which England would support the traditional policy of Russia, and settle in agreement with Russia, France, Austria, and Italy the Armenian, Cretan, Syrian, and Macedonian questions; while coming to a negative understanding as to the completion of the Baghdad railway for the exclusive advantage of the Germans."

A further telegram to the *Times*, dated Paris, December 31, said that the bases of an understanding have already been arrived at, and if domestic peace was restored to Russia, the agreement decided on in principle would be immediately concluded, based on mutual concessions by the two contracting parties.

Now, nothing is said as to what these mutual concessions

are to consist of, and in none of the communications have the Russian writers apparently offered us anything we have not got already. If the proposed Russian formal guarantee of the inviolability of India and Afghanistan is to consist of nothing more than the paper it is written on, I do not see that we are likely to be any better off than we are at present. No one would welcome a really friendly understanding with Russia more than myself. No people can be more friendly to the Britisher than the Russians in Russia, and no one has received greater kindness than I have from Russians in Russia. It is only when we meet Russians outside Russia that our interests clash, and mutual susceptibilities are aroused; and if any understanding can be arrived at by which the clashing of our respective interests in the Near East, the Middle East, and the Far East can in the future be avoided, a great advance will be made; but the guarantee must be of practical value, and the concessions really mutual. An offer simply not to break existing treaties is not of itself a sufficient inducement to call for concessions on our part. All nations, too, are probably already agreed that the Baghdad Railway should not be constructed "for the exclusive advantage of the Germans," and, considering the overwhelming preponderance of British interests in the Persian Gulf, and the importance to India of a railway from the head of the Gulf to Baghdad in connection with the large pilgrim traffic between India and the holy places at Kerbela and elsewhere near Baghdad, it is only natural that the British share in the Baghdad Railway scheme should be the construction of the portion from the eastern terminus on the Persian Gulf up to the point where the line enters the northern confines of the Baghdad Government. When we consider what India did in the construction of the Uganda Railway, it is clear that no Government in the world could build a railway through Turkish Arabia so cheaply and so well as the Indian Government.

Regarding railways in Persia, Colonel Beresford in his

lecture on "Russian Railways towards India," in December last, told us that the projected Russian line through Persia was to run from Julfa, past Tabriz, to Teheran. From there the main line was to run east to Meshed, Herat, Farah, and thence onwards in two branches, one to Seistan and the other to Kandahar ; while from Teheran another line was to run south to Kum, Isfahan, and Shiraz, and thence to Bandar Abbas on the Persian Gulf.

The first line from Meshed to Herat, Seistan, and Kandahar need not be considered here. The Amir of Afghanistan, we all know, is averse to railways in his country.

Regarding the second line, I cannot help thinking, despite the dotted lines on the Russian map exhibited by Colonel Beresford, that the Isfahan, Shiraz, Bandar Abbas line is not the only project that has been considered by Russia. Bandar Abbas does not appear to me to be the only port on the Persian Gulf that the Russians have had an eye on. Indeed, I am inclined to think that Chahbar has been the real objective that the Russians have had in view. So long as Afghanistan is closed to railways, any Russian line, from their Central Asian railways to the south, must run entirely through Persian territory, and instead of the proposed Meshed, Herat, Farah, Seistan line, described by Colonel Beresford, we may, I think, substitute a line taking off from the Transcaspian Railway, somewhere about Doshakh, or from the Merv-Kushk Railway, and running down the eastern border of Persia, skirting the Seistan Hamuns by Behrang and along the foot of the Palang Koh Range, and thence on southwards to Chahbar.

I have traversed the country between Meshed and Herat on the north, and Seistan and Farah on the south, four times by four different routes, and I know of no impediment to a railway there. South of Seistan to Chahbar the country is little known, but I have never heard of anything to lead me to suppose that the difficulties there are insuperable ; and of one thing we may be very sure, and that is, by taking this route railway engineers would avoid the tremendous

and sudden drop from the plateau to the coast that is experienced between Shiraz and Bushire for instance, and also the difficulties through the mountains between Kirman and Bundar Abbas. It may be said that a line through these desert regions of Eastern Persia would never pay, but then we have to remember that Russian railways are made for strategic, not for commercial purposes, and the Russian Government, if once embarked on any hostile policy, would certainly not be debarred from railway making by any commercial considerations.

Now, if railways are ever to be made in Persia, Russia and India will each naturally claim to have the making of them within, what the Russian writer above referred to was pleased to term, the respective Russian and British "purely commercial spheres of influence." If Russia and England are to have such spheres, the British sphere will, of course, extend from the southern borders of Khorasan near Turbat-i-Haidari and Khaf on the east, across the middle of the great salt desert to the westward somewhere along the line of the thirty-fourth or thirty-fifth degree of latitude, including on our side the Kain, Kirman, Isfahan, and Kirmanshah provinces. I mention Turbat-i-Haidari and Khaf on purpose, because to the south of those places there is a desert tract marked by a small salt marsh, called Nimaksar, which forms the frontier between Khorasan on the north, and Tabas, Kain, Birjand, and Seistan on the south, and these four districts, which are all held by members of one family—that of the old Amir of Kain of Goldsmid's days—all fall within the British commercial sphere. The great salt desert is the natural divide of Persia, and should any railways be required in the British sphere to the south of this in the future, they should naturally be in British hands. Russia would not consent to British railway guards garrisoning Khorasan just on the border of her Central Asian possessions; and similarly England could not agree to the presence in Kain, or anywhere on our side of the desert, of Russian troops as railway guards—such guards, for

instance, as not so long ago were quartered in Manchuria ; and just as Mr. Balfour in his memorable speech of May last, stated that any railway construction by Russia in Afghanistan should be considered an unfriendly act to us, so should any railway constructed by Russia in the south or eastern portions of Persia that I have described, be equally considered an unfriendly act, and resented accordingly.

A final telegram from St. Petersburg, on the subject of Anglo-Russian relations, appeared in the *Times* so late as February 7, 1906. The correspondent then stated that Anglo-Russian relations were once more receiving attention in the Russian press, and that the *Slovo*, in a series of articles, declared that an understanding with England was possible only on condition that Great Britain offered serious concessions regarding Southern Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet ; secondly, that an intention seemed to be indicated on the part of the Russian Government to devote greater attention to Persian affairs, and that this was entirely borne out by the views prevailing in Russian military circles ; thirdly, that the chief of the Central Asiatic section of the general staff, in a recent lecture, dwelt upon the necessity of co-ordinating the efforts of Russia's army and her diplomacy, in order to reach warm water in the Persian Gulf.

This lecture was delivered before a military society in St. Petersburg, and a précis of it was published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of February 7, 1906. It is well worth the attention of all interested in Central Asian politics as a type of the spirit that, I regret to see, is being shown by Russian officers of the present day. The lecture, which is rightly described by the *Pall Mall Gazette* as an "extraordinary address," consists of one long tirade against the Indian Government, which is said to be "a system of piracy tempered by trade," "a robber government condemned for its cruelty and injustice," which "evoked the hatred of the population," while the relations of the British towards the Indians are said to be those of "cattle-drovers with their cattle."

I have hitherto always given it as my opinion that the more British officers in India and Russian officers in Central

Asia met each other and travelled in each other's territories, the more we should each learn to appreciate the work the other was doing, and the higher the respect we should each have for the other : and I must confess I am sadly disappointed to find that Colonel Snyesareff's visit to India has resulted in nothing better than the outpouring of this bitter feeling towards the English in India now described in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. We Indian officers, who know and love India, and have many Indian friends, well realize the true and fervent loyalty that pervades all that is good amongst the Indian chiefs and people ; as, indeed, has been fully instanced by the warm attachment to the British throne that has been so strikingly displayed throughout the tour of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. We can, therefore, afford to view with disdain such utterances as those I have referred to, but what we cannot afford to treat with neglect are the unfriendly sentiments that inspire such utterances. Colonel Snyesareff, so the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* says, is "an officer of the Liberal school, who will occupy a high position at the Russian War Office in case the liberalization of Russian institutions becomes an accomplished fact." Any Russian officer in power, who is imbued with such sentiments towards the Government of India as Colonel Snyesareff has so lately given public utterance to, can only be looked upon by those who would welcome a friendly understanding with Russia as a public danger, and the lecture only shows how little, apparently, we can really rely on friendly co-operation with Russia in the Middle East. There have been other references in the papers of late to the agitation in Russia for the acquisition of what is now called a "military port" in the Persian Gulf ; and however disappointing this agitation may be to those who hoped for more friendly relations, it just shows us how necessary it is for us to maintain to the full our vigilance in upholding British interests in Eastern and Southern Persia and throughout the Persian Gulf.



## CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN INDIA.

BY CAPTAIN C. H. BUCK, I.A., PUNJAB COMMISSION.

CRIMINAL work in India is rather different from what it is in England, for the magistracy in the former country have to deal with a people composed, not of one nation, nor even of a collection of nations, but of a vast number of races, tribes, and castes, all with their different customs and prejudices, their various religions and languages. In order for a magistrate to dispense justice under such circumstances, it is necessary for him to have an intimate acquaintance with the peculiarities of the people in the tract where his work lies, and a thorough knowledge of the language spoken there.

A grasp is more easily acquired of Indian than of English criminal law, for the former is contained in two excellent codes, known as "The Code of Criminal Procedure" and "The Indian Penal Code." Its method of administration, too, is exemplified by the rulings of the principal courts of the various provinces in all important cases, classified and printed in convenient monthly reports. In addition to this, the magistrates receive instruction from their superior officers, and have to pass examinations in law before they can rise from one class to another.

In India the novice finds considerable difficulty in sifting the evidence, for the native has a wonderful capacity for manufacturing it, and hardly a case is brought to trial in which more or less is not false. Experience, however, generally enables one to perceive when witnesses are perverting the truth, and ingenuity in examining them usually brings the true facts to light. Most of the totally false cases are brought out of enmity, frequently of a very petty nature, or out of revenge. It is, however, a common occurrence for a person, with the assistance of his friends

or relatives, to concoct a counter charge directly he learns that a complaint is about to be, or has been, made against him, and, as an instance of this, I may mention the following, which occurred in a Punjab district :

A poor tenant had obtained a decree against a wealthy landlord for possession of a plot of land, and the day after he had obtained execution of his decree he went to the fields in question with another man and began ploughing. The landlord happened to arrive at the spot on horseback, with several friends, and, on seeing the tenant, rode at him and broke one of his arms by a blow with a heavy stick. His companions then beat the man black and blue, and left him lying insensible on the ground. A consultation immediately took place, and it was decided that the landlord should gallop off at once to the headquarters of the district, some five miles away, to establish an alibi, and that a village watchman should be sent there on foot with a report to the effect that a fight had occurred between the tenant and some other man. The landlord managed to arrive in a short space of time at the central meeting-place of the town, where he accosted quite a number of eminently respectable gentlemen, and asked them the time. After he had been there about two hours, the watchman arrived with a message from the headman of the village, and the landlord, who pretended to have heard it for the first time, proceeded without loss of time to report the matter at the police-station, accompanied by the watchman and some of the aforementioned gentlemen. In the report the time of the occurrence was carefully entered so that it appeared to have happened about an hour after the landlord's arrival in the town. While it was being recorded, the wounded man's relatives arrived and put in a complaint against the landlord, which at first was hardly credited. Fortunately, the true facts came out at the investigation and trial, and the wealthy man received his deserts, notwithstanding the fact that he had engaged five of the principal pleaders in the town to defend him.

In a country where such a large amount of false evidence is given, it is, of course, possible that innocent persons occasionally get convicted, but the Criminal Procedure Code has been so framed that the accused person is given protection throughout each stage of his trial, and the chance of a miscarriage of justice is reduced to a minimum. When the original trial is concluded, the prisoner still has the opportunity of getting the proceedings set aside by an appeal, or by an application for revision, to a higher court, and, in the case of a death sentence, after an appeal to the principal court of the province, the condemned man also has the right to petition the head of the province, and finally the Viceroy. Only in the pettiest of cases, tried by senior magistrates, in which very light sentences have been given, or in those in which sentences of whipping only have been ordered, is no appeal allowed. Even these are open to revision by the superior courts if it can be shown that the trial has not been conducted strictly according to law.

The statistics of crime in India show that, during the quinquennial period ending with 1903, the average number of offences reported annually was 1,402,579 in a population amounting, according to the census of 1901, to 231,830,884. Of these 83·3 per cent. were returned as true, and 1,050,805 cases were brought to trial, but a very large proportion of them were trivial ones. The number of persons concerned in these offences averaged 0·75 per cent. of the population. These figures, of course, do not represent the actual crime, for a great deal remains untraced, and much is never reported.

Comparing the criminality of the various provinces with one another, and taking as a standard the number of cases brought to trial per 10,000 of the population, we find that Madras heads the list with a ratio of 80, and Assam is apparently the least criminal, its ratio being as low as 24. The figures for the other provinces work out as follows : Bombay, 78 ; Burma, 71 ; North-West Frontier Province,

62 ; Punjab, 49 ; Central Provinces (including Berar), 31 ; Bengal and the United Provinces, 25 each.

Of the total number of offences brought to trial, more than half are those of a petty nature against special and local laws, such as the Forest, Canal, Municipal, Excise, and Police Acts, and about two-thirds of the remainder belong to the following categories :

Affecting life, 2 per cent. ; inflicting hurt, 36 per cent. ; criminal force and assault, 20 per cent. ; theft, 26 per cent. ; and criminal trespass 16 per cent. Crimes of violence under the first three heads are most rife, in proportion to the population, in the Punjab and Bombay.

On an average, about 500 persons are sentenced to death annually, 1,600 to transportation, 130,000 to rigorous, and 15,000 to simple imprisonment, 630,000 to fine, and 23,000 to whipping.

About £245,000 are annually imposed in fines, but of this amount only some £205,000 are realized, while about £18,500 are paid out of the latter as compensation to complainants, or, in false cases, to accused.

Close on 175,000 persons lodge appeals every year, and of these 67·5 per cent. are rejected.

For the disposal of criminal work there are 45 judges of the principal provincial courts, 103 judges of other courts superior to district courts, 195 chief magistrates of districts, and 6,064 subordinate magistrates. The latter deal with almost all of the original work, and it will be apparent from the figures previously given that, on an average, each ordinary magistrate tries about fourteen cases a month ; in addition, they have to do a large amount of miscellaneous criminal work, and perform numerous other duties on the revenue and civil side.

One of the chief advantages of the Indian system over that of England is the careful supervision of all work done by the magistracy. In each province there is a high or chief court, consisting of a bench of judges who have been chosen for their intelligence and capabilities from the

senior ranks of the Indian Civil Service and from the Bar. This tribunal, besides trying certain original cases, deciding appeals, and hearing applications, continually watches the work performed by the subordinate judges, and from time to time, by means of circulars, gives instructions to them. From each district a monthly statement is submitted, which shows at a glance the out-turn of work of each magistrate, and the distribution of cases among the courts. In this statement a brief description of each case is given, and in those comprising offences against property the value and nature thereof is mentioned. Against each is also recorded the kind and amount of punishment inflicted. Whenever slight or severe sentences have been given, concise reasons have to be noted in the column of remarks. The statement is prepared in the office of the district magistrate, who controls all the courts in a district, and, on perusing it at the end of each month, he sends for the files of those cases in which anything abnormal appears, examines them, and, if necessary, takes action himself to remedy defects, or forwards them with a report to higher authorities. It is forwarded to the principal court of the province through the sessions court, and both these tribunals take immediate action when legal mistakes or injustice are noticed. It is also part of the duties of the registrar of the principal court, of the session judges and district magistrates, to periodically inspect the courts within their jurisdiction. In this manner the magistracy is continually kept up to the mark.

In most districts there are one or more benches of honorary magistrates, who have been specially selected from among the principal native gentry, but, as a rule, they are only given the powers of the second or third class. Their work, too, is regularly supervised in the same manner as that of the ordinary magistrates.

In the Indian Penal Code all kinds of offences are classified and defined, and the maximum punishment and description thereof which may be imposed for each is specified. In the Criminal Procedure Code the powers of the judges

are stated, and the method of procedure clearly described. I may mention that under the law contained in these Codes a person who has had previous convictions may be given enhanced punishment, while young or first offenders may be released on probation. Under certain circumstances juveniles may be sent to reformatory schools. In case of frivolous or vexatious complaints the complainant is liable to pay compensation to the accused, and in those where the complainant has suffered loss, an amount sufficient to cover it may be paid to him out of the fine inflicted on the accused. The excellent provisions in the Codes, combined with the rules in the Evidence Act and a little common sense, are sufficient to guide the magistrate in the course he should go until the conclusion of the trial, and the only real difficulty occurs when an accused has been found guilty and the sentence has to be determined on. It is here that the great advantage of supervision comes in. Sentences which are *primâ facie* absurdly light or heavy can be altered by the superior courts, but enhancement can only be ordered by the highest tribunal in the province, before whom the accused again has the right of defence.

The inequality of sentences passed by the benches in England is frequently noticeable, and doubtless a system of supervision, such as that which prevails in India, and has been described above, would go a long way towards remedying matters were it introduced.

## A BEHAR PLANTER ON THE OPIUM QUESTION.

BY DONALD NORMAN REID.

THE opium that is produced in Behar contains a very large percentage of anarcotine, which is a bitter crystalline alkaloid resembling quinine, and, like that substance, possesses tonic and antiperiodic properties. Now, in anarcotine an antidote to malaria is at our command; and the late Sir William Roberts—who was the medical member of the Opium Commission of 1893-1894—strongly recommended the use of this valuable substance in combating fever in India. Writing on the opium habit in India, Sir William Roberts said: “The birth-rate in England averages 31·4 per 1,000, while in India the birth-rate averages 42 per 1,000.” This was written before the famines of the last decade of years played havoc in India; but, still, it is a suggestive fact to find the birth-rate of a malaria-stricken country like India higher than that of England. And I may remark in passing that the birth-rate of England and Wales continues to fall, and is now little more than 29 per 1,000 of the population. Moreover, looking at the opium question from another point of view—namely, that of lunacy—Sir William Roberts has emphasized the fact that opium is not responsible for the increase of insanity, and in support of this view he quoted the words of Dr. Boyd, the superintendent of the Colaba Lunatic Asylum in Bombay, who said: “I do not think that opium has ever produced, or ever will produce, insanity; that is my very strong opinion. It may in large doses produce hallucination for a short time, but never insanity of any form.” Further, on the question of suicide Sir William Roberts pointed to the fact that “the province of Assam, which has the largest consumption of opium, shows the smallest proportion of suicides; and Madras, which has the

lowest consumption of opium, stands second on the list in proportion of suicides."

The above is a summary of the opinions of medical men who knew what they were talking about. And yet, on May 30 last, in the House of Commons, Dr. Rutherford, the member for Brentford, said: "Physical deterioration, emaciation, and mental and moral degradation followed the use of opium. In 1892 a declaration was signed by 5,000 medical men to the effect that it was a grave danger to the people of India. We are playing the devil's game." But what does Dr. Rutherford know about the people in the poppy-growing districts of India? The mere fact that he poses as an authority on skin diseases among the unwashed of England does not qualify him to speak on a question about which he knows absolutely nothing.

I have touched upon the question of the birth-rate in England, since this is a question which really ought to occupy the attention of Dr. Rutherford and his 5,000 medical friends. When these gentlemen have succeeded in stamping out Neo-Malthusianism in this Christian country, they may then turn their attention to the opium-eating Hindu and to the heathen Chinese. The opium habit was common enough at one time in the malarious districts of England, and it is not generally known that Erith is the village described in Dickens's "Household Words" as Dumble-down-deary, in the days when malaria infested that village and its neighbourhood. In those days very little was heard about the harmful effects of opium.

Although I am not a qualified medical man, I have been in my day an amateur doctor, with a practice much larger than that of any physician in England, and one of my favourite medicines was chlorodyne for both cholera and dysentery. Quinine was also largely used by me. But many natives cannot take quinine, and for these Indians opium is undoubtedly better suited. I can honestly say that during the many years that I resided in India the so-called evil effects of opium-eating were never forced



upon my observation. When, as a boy, I first set up house-keeping on my own account at a lonely indigo factory my cook was an opium-eater, who did not give me one day's trouble during all the years that he was with me. When I became part proprietor of an indigo factory my banker was an opium-eater, and I can vouch for the fact that he was one of the shrewdest men of business in all India. The last year I was at my factory I obtained indigo seed for that season's sowings from six separate seed merchants at Cawnpore. Five of these indigo seed merchants were represented by Marwaris, who are most inveterate opium-eaters; the other was an English firm of merchants. And yet the indigo seed of the English firm was found wanting when weighed in the balances against the seed supplied by the Marwaris; in other words, I had to reject the seed of the Europeans, but I had no complaint to make against that of the opium-eating Indians.

I will now give a quotation from the late Mr. Aberigh-Mackay's article on "The Villager," to show the kind of man who is engaged in the cultivation of the poppy crop: "Famine is the horizon of the Indian villager; insufficient food is the foreground. And this is the more extraordinary since the villager is surrounded by a dreamland of plenty. Everywhere you see fields flooded deep with millet and wheat. The village and its old trees have to climb on to a knoll to keep their feet out of the glorious poppy and the luscious sugar-cane. . . . But even the poor cultivator has his joys beneath the clouds of Revenue Boards and Famine Commissions. If we look closely at his life we may see a soft glory resting upon it. . . . God is ever with the cultivator in all the manifold sights and sounds of this marvellous world of His. In that mysterious temple of the Dawn, in which we of noisy mess-rooms, heated courts, and dusty offices are infrequent worshippers, the peasant is a priest. There he offers up his hopes and fears for rain and sunshine; there he listens to the anthems of birds we rarely hear, and interprets auguries that for us have little meaning." I have

always looked upon this article from Mr. Aberigh-Mackay's pen as having been inspired by God, since it puts the case of the ryot in a nutshell. "Feed My sheep," was one of our Lord's last injunctions to Peter; but this is now being interpreted into "Feed My shepherd" among the devout of England, and to abuse opium is one of the methods adopted in raising money for this purpose. But even opium becomes a blessing in disguise when it is taken in conjunction with curdled milk; and Dr. Ram Moy Roy has told us of a Bengali opium-eater who died at the age of 106, "in the full possession of his senses, and in good health considering his age. He used to manage a large estate of his own, and his daily dose of opium was 180 grains, which he had taken for sixty-six years." Moreover, it has been stated by Indian army medical officers that "the opium-eating sepoy stands the extrêmes of temperature, particularly severe cold, better than his companion who has no taste for opium, and that as regards dysentery and kindred complaints, he enjoys extraordinary immunity. He does not smoke opium, but uses it just as a European takes quinine in a feverish climate. He knows its virtues, and experience has shown him how and when he should take it." In the eighties I was told by the captain of a P. and O. boat that on a very cold winter morning while coming up Southampton Water his opium-eating lascar crew insisted upon going aloft to furl the sails, although a West Indian mail-steamer coming up at the same time, with a European crew, entered the docks with its sails unfurled. This was in the old days when sails were more generally used on board the steamers than they are now, and the story illustrates the fact that weather which was too cold for a European crew was cheerfully faced by the P. and O. lascars. But what about the opium-smoking Chinaman? Before sitting down to write this article I took a walk on Whit Monday through the streets of London, and came across many members of the workless, the thriftless, and the worthless class. But are these poor creatures to be taken as

average specimens of the men and women of these isles? China is also a densely populated country, and the most degraded of its population make excellent "copy" for the sensation-monger. But let us see what an Australian squatter said of his Chinese servants in the sixties and seventies. In an article contributed by Mr. G. FitzRoy Cole to *Fraser's Magazine* of October, 1878, the following letter from Mr. Cecil Guinness is quoted :

"As to my experience of Chinese as servants in the colonies I have lived in, I have had large sheep-stations in Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland, both in the different places and at different times between the years 1862 and 1876. I have employed Chinamen as house-servants, gardeners, shepherds, fencers, and shearers, etc.—in fact, in almost every form of employment connected with sheep-farming. I have found them most useful and industrious, sober and honest. They all smoke opium more or less, but you seldom see them affected deleteriously by that indulgence, nor have I ever traced any neglect of their duties to that cause. As gardeners they are remarkable. Accustomed to keep their own little gardens in their own country under great difficulties; they are invaluable in the arid interior of Australia. At Bourke, on the Darling River, in New South Wales, where I lived for ten years, and where, till the advent of Chinamen, it was thought by the earliest European settlers we should never be able to raise vegetables, we soon were surprised and delighted to find—thanks to the perseverance, energy, and industry of the Chinamen gardeners—that we had all the year round a succession of the finest vegetables I have ever seen in any part of the world. In all other departments of station labour I may add that they are nearly as useful, and, in a word, my experience of Chinese labour is most favourable."

I have given the above quotation regarding the opium-smoking Chinaman, since there was a debate in the House of Commons on the then unemployed on the very day on which

the opium question was discussed ; and Mr. Burns did not mince his words in describing the men who were employed on farm colonies. But let us get back to India, and take up Mr. Sidney Low's book, in which it is said : " You will not often find a subaltern of an English regiment eager to assert that his men are the finest fellows in the world, but I have scarcely met an officer of the Indian army who does not hold that opinion." This quotation from a book lately published shows that better troops do not exist, in the estimation of their officers, than the opium-eating Sikhs and Pathans.

A letter was published in the London *Daily News* of June 2 last in which the writer said : " If it be true that 600,000 acres of the best land in India is now given over to the cultivation of the poppy, surely that land could be used to equal, if not greater, advantage. While we give up these vast tracts of country to a baneful product, which goes to blight and destroy thousands of lives in China, our fellow-subjects in India die of starvation. We send out large sums as famine relief funds ; we pay for grain to be sent to relieve the famine. Could we not grow food-stuffs upon the land now used for the poppy ?" This letter is typical of the ignorance displayed by those who inveigh against the poppy crop, which even Mr. Morley described as a " pestilential weed." But from this " pestilential weed " the poorest of the poor obtain quantities of green-stuff, which they use as pot-herbs ; the seed is eaten in sweet-meats ; and after the poppy is harvested a hot-weather crop of *chána* and an autumn crop of maize are obtained from the land—three crops in the year, as will be seen from the table on p. 7, which is taken from a Report to the Famine Commission of 1878-1879 :

But the English public, although ready enough to abuse the Government of India, will not take the trouble to study the question connected with the cultivation of the poppy crop in the congested districts of Behar—a question which is intimately connected with the intensive cultivation of the



soil, as will be seen from the following letter, which I wrote in March, 1901, to the *Morning Post*. The letter, however, was not published :

"SIR,—On Christmas Day, 1900, the *Morning Post* contained a letter from me on the subject of Indian famines, in which I preached the doctrine of soil bacteriology ; and I now write to suggest that, as the Government of Bengal is paying for the piper, it has a right to call the tune on scientific research in Behar. In other words, I beg to suggest that an experienced agricultural chemist and bacteriologist should be sent to Behar to take the place of Mr. Rawson. Remember that indigo is not the only crop of importance that requires to be scientifically cultivated.

"Take the poppy crop, for example, regarding which the collector of Monghyr, writing on March 1, 1874 (a year of famine), said : 'I calculate that 300,000 persons found employment in the poppy-fields of this district during the winter of 1873-1874.' The size of the opium bigha is 3,025 square yards, and the 40,000 bighas of poppy in the Monghyr district in 1874 represented only 25,000 acres of cultivated land ; and yet this comparatively small extent of land found employment for 300,000 persons in a year of famine. And I can assure you that the estimate of the collector of Monghyr was very moderate and well within the mark of the number employed. Moreover, in the year of famine the ryot would at once sow his poppy-field in *chína* on the opium being gathered. This *chína* crop would be ripe and off the land in May, and then the field would be put under maize in June. So, after all, there is truth in the Behar proverb that where ten crops grow in ten different months the husbandman need only look to his ploughing. This means that the soil should be treated on bacteriological lines.

"The most useful and scientific method of cultivating indigo is as a preparatory crop for barley, wheat, or poppy.

Keats has told us that 'the poetry of earth is never dead,' and the indigo-planter should cherish this poetry of the earth in his soul, so that

" 'In all his works astonished Nature views  
Her silvery splendours and her golden hues.'

No other system than that of treating indigo as a preparatory crop for wheat, barley, or poppy will give satisfaction to the ryot; and to prove this to the hilt I will quote the following observations from the 'Statistical Account of Purniah': 'On the subject of indigo-planting in its relation to the cultivators, Mr. Shillingford remarks: "This factory (Kolasi), and I may say this district, differs from all other districts, in that the cultivation of indigo is based more on the principle of Free Trade than elsewhere. In other words, it pays the ryot to cultivate indigo in Purniah, and he does so of his own free-will."' Mr. Shillingford thus enumerates the advantages of the Purniah system: (1) During the months that indigo-lands are being prepared and sown no other crop can be grown; (2) three-fourths of the indigo is grown on lands from which one crop has already been reaped; (3) in half of the lands rice can be sown after the indigo has been cut. Thus the ryot gets three crops in one year off half his lands at least. The above-mentioned system is nothing more or less than an object-lesson in soil bacteriology; and if it paid in Purniah, why should it not pay in Behar? But, instead of rice, wheat, barley, or poppy, should be taken after indigo.

"The dense population in Behar cries loudly for food, a fact which reminds me of the following words which were put into the mouth of Gerard by Disraeli in 'Sybil': 'Well, Mr. Franklin, be sure of this—that the population returns of this country are very instructive reading. . . . I speak of the annual arrival of more than three hundred thousand strangers in this island. How will you feed them? How will you clothe them? . . . They have given up butcher's meat; must they give up bread? . . . What are your invasions of the barbarous nations, your Goths and

Visigoths, your Lombards and Huns, to our population returns?' Disraeli's 'Sybil' was published in the year 1845, and in 1846-1847 the potato blight fell upon Ireland and upon the Western Highlands and islands with appalling severity. The Irish then emigrated in their millions. But the safety-valve of emigration is only partially opened for the Indians, who must die in their millions if their lands are not properly cultivated in seasons of drought."

This letter shows how the cultivation of indigo and of poppy in Behar should go hand in hand in promoting the welfare of the native cultivators of that province, and yet these are the two crops which are being threatened with extinction. Moreover, alcoholism, which is responsible for filling lunatic asylums in this country and the burying-grounds of the Europeans in India, will take the place of the opium habit among the nations of the East if the cultivation of poppy is prohibited. This may please "Stiggins and Co.," but it will work havoc in every country east of Suez.

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## THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM IN CEYLON

By A. G. WISE.

THE highest possible praise is due to the determined manner in which Sir Henry Blake is seeking to remove what has long been a great blot in Ceylon—namely, the inadequacy of the facilities for the education of the people of that prosperous colony. Absence of schools, and the fact that the children were in many instances growing up without any control or discipline, have led to an alarming increase of crime, which harsh measures of punishment have failed to cope with. A curious feature in the whole controversy has been the manner in which some of the officials, and a portion of the press, have represented that everything was already being done that could be done, and that no drastic change in the existing systems was either necessary or desirable. In laudable contrast to this attitude was the example set by the Hon. J. Ferguson, the European Member of Council, who, both in the *Ceylon Observer* and in the Legislative Council, has strenuously supported Sir Henry Blake and the advocates of reform. In a recent utterance he pointed out that there are no less than 330,000 children of a school-going age unprovided for in Ceylon; and that in India 50 per cent. more money is devoted to education than to medical purposes, while in Ceylon over 50 per cent. more is given to medical purposes than is spent on education. Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking in Parliament in reply to Mr. C. E. Schwann, M.P., stated that matters were not so bad in Ceylon in regard to education as was generally supposed; but it is impossible to deny the accuracy of the official statistics, which afford abundant justification for the action of the East India Association and other bodies which have interested themselves in this important matter.

If further proof, however, be needed, it is afforded in the

papers which have been laid before Parliament.\* Reference has been made in previous articles in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* to some of the documents, comprised in the "Correspondence relating to Elementary Education in Ceylon," which was presented to Parliament in March last. First, there is the valuable Report of the Commissioners appointed in 1905, whose conclusions were dealt with in the January number of this *Review*. No time has been lost in giving effect to some of their recommendations, and already a measure has been passed empowering certain local bodies and municipal councils to establish schools and enforce attendance thereat. A more general measure applying to all country districts is in contemplation, and I would urge the authorities to bestir themselves, and to introduce their proposals into the Legislative Council as speedily as possible.

As regards the method of meeting the cost, it is proposed to utilize the existing road, or poll, tax for the purpose. My own opinion is that it would be better to face the problem boldly, and charge the whole cost of education to the general revenue. That course would, at least, remove the principal objection of the planting community to the carrying out of a scheme for the education of the children employed on plantations. This subject also has been discussed at length in this *Review*, besides having been a topic at various public meetings in London and the provinces. Lately, at Oxford, at a meeting convened by the University authorities, resolutions were passed urging the Government to insist on facilities being provided for the education (in the vernacular) of the thousands of children employed on the tea estates of India and Ceylon. Nothing whatever has yet been done in this important matter. As regards Ceylon, the Commissioners have practically admitted the

\* (1) "Papers relating to the Education of Immigrant Tamil Cooly Children employed on Estates (Ceylon)." [Cd. 2,484.] Price 3½d. H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1905.

(2) "Correspondence relating to Elementary Education in Ceylon." [Cd. 2,873.] Price 6d. H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1906.

accuracy and justice of my contentions (disputed by some of the officials on the spot). They recommend that the planters should be required to provide simple instruction for the children on their estates (Tamil immigrants from Southern India). If, after a reasonable time, planters fail to do so, they urge that the Government should step in and establish a school for the estate or group of estates, recovering the cost of construction and maintenance from the proprietor of the estate by means of a rate levied for that special purpose. Much stress has been laid on the very worthless classes, started by the "kanganis," or native foremen, for the benefit of their own children and a few other boys of the same caste, about five or six in all. These have been dignified by the name of "line schools," being held in the coolies' own "lines" or houses. They are, it appears, to be periodically inspected by Government officials, and quarterly returns are to be sent in to the Public Instruction Department, showing the number of children of a school-going age on each estate and their attendance at school. Lord Elgin, in a despatch dated March 1, expresses his approval of these recommendations, and advocates the conferring upon Government of the necessary legal powers with respect to estate schools as is suggested by the Commission.

I would conclude by urging the Government of India to adopt some similar measure with regard to the children employed on the Assam tea gardens and in other planting districts, where the neglect in this respect is a disgrace to our rule. As pointed out in the despatches of August 18, 1904,\* "the concentration of children in connection with the gardens affords a better opportunity than usually exists for imparting some education to them." It is, therefore, highly unsatisfactory to find that, in reply to questions in Parliament, the only answer vouchsafed is the stereotyped formula to the effect that the matter is under consideration. In India, as in Ceylon, it does not seem right nor fair that

\* No. 19 of 1904, Government of India, Home Department (Education).

any large number of this useful class should grow up in a state of ignorance which leaves them at the mercy of others ; for it is our imperative duty to see that children residing on these estates shall receive the necessary minimum of instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, such as will prevent them from being at a disadvantage in their dealings with unscrupulous persons cleverer than themselves. There can be no adequate reason for further delay in dealing with this important and necessary reform, which is desirable alike in the interests of the coolies, the owners of plantations, and, indeed, the whole community.

It may, perhaps, be necessary to repeat that all that is required for the particular class on whose behalf these few lines are penned, is a simple course of instruction in their own vernacular, without attempting to provide these coolie children with an English education, or such an education as would in any way render them unfit to follow their natural and proper avocation ; while it is by no means improbable that the establishment of schools on a sound system would prove an attraction, rather than a bugbear, to emigrants from Southern India, who form such a valuable asset in many of our tropical possessions.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROFESSOR DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL WORKS.

THE seventeenth volume of the "Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche"\* (third edition, by A. Hauck) has appeared. It continues from the word *Riesen* to the word *Schutzheilige*. From an Oriental standpoint, the articles on Rimmon (divinity), Ruth (the book), Sabbath, Shechinah (שכינה), are of importance. On the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of Professor Noe-decke, two very large volumes of Oriental studies (liv and 1187 pages, large 8vo.)† have been published, which contain eighty-five articles on Orientalism by different authors. It is impossible to enter here into the details of such a publication; I will, however, refer to its contents after having given it a careful study. At present I will only draw attention to an interesting article of Mr. Van Berchem on the monuments and inscriptions of the Atâbek Lu'lû of Mossul, who was the rightful ruler of Mossul from 631 H. (1233) to 657 H. (1259).

E. Jung, an old Vice-Resident of France in Indo-China, has published a curious volume on "Les Puissances devant la Révolte arabe : la Crise mondiale de Demain."‡ The author enters into the political and economical questions of Arabia and the interests of the Powers. But will there be a revival of the Arab Islamism? It seems very improbable at the present hour or in the near future—to those, at least, who know Islamism.

P. L. Cheikho published recently in the *Arabic Review*, which the Jesuits have founded in Beyrout, "Al Machaiq," the Arabic text of three Greek treatises which have been found hanging on the organs, and which treat of a certain

\* Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1906.

† A. Töpelmann, Gieszen, 1906.

‡ Paris, Hachette and Co., 1906.

Moristos. Mr. H. Derenbourg, in a communication made in May to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, under the title of "A Byzantine Musicograph of the Eighth Century," has identified this personage. It is the Myrtos of the *Fihrist*, who calls him *Ar-Rumi*, the Greek, or rather the Byzantine. He was a physician as well as a mathematician, and an artist. The first of the three treatises speaks of an organ in copper intended for the King of France. This King would be Pepin the Short, to whom the Emperor Constantine V., Kopronymus, presented in 757 an organ, probably constructed in Byzance.

We have to notice a small dictionary—French-Dutch-Malay—by Long and Hochreutiner,\* both assistants at the Botanical Gardens in Buitenzorg. It is interesting from the Semitic point of view. The said dictionary is put together in a very practical manner, and in the alphabetical order of the three languages; thus the volume really contains three dictionaries. The authors have specially noted words of Arabic origin, which are fairly numerous. I wish to point out some Malay words which are of Hebrew origin: *sela*, space (סֵלָה), *alam*, world (עוֹלָם), *kalah*, to lose (נָלָה), etc.

#### OLD TESTAMENT HEBREW LANGUAGE, TALMUD.

The sixth volume of the Polyglot Bible,† by the Abbé Vigouroux, has appeared. It includes the Prophets (Ezekiel to Malachi) and the two first books of the Maccabees. It is an interesting publication, with illustrations of scientific value.

The "Dictionnaire de la Bible,"‡ published by the same author, has reached the twenty-seventh fasciculus: Moab to Namsi.

"L'Introduction à l'ancien Testament," by Professor L. Gautier,§ might be called the most remarkable work that

\* Batavia, Kolff and Co., 1906.

† Paris, Roger and Chernoviz, 1906.

‡ Paris, Letouzey and Ané, 1906.

§ Two vols., Lausanne, G. Bridel and Co., 1906.

has appeared on the Old Testament since the beginning of this year. The work is divided into five parts, preceded by preliminaries on the languages (Hebrew and Aramæan) of the Old Testament and on the Hebrew hand writing: (1) The Law or the Pentateuch; (2) the Prophets (historical and prophetical books properly speaking); (3) the Ketubim Writings, or the Hagiography; (4) the Apocrypha and the Pseudo-epigraphs; (5) History of the Canon, the Text, and the Versions. As an appendix there is an analytical bibliographical summary of the subjects, and an index of the names and Biblical quotations mentioned. The work of Mr. Gautier is excellent, very clear and intelligible to the general public who are interested in the Bible, and is of undoubted scientific value. Mr. Gautier follows the modern critical school.

L. Frohnmeyer and L. Benzinger have published in German an excellent work for the diffusion among the people, which J. Breitenstein has just translated into French under the title of "Biblical Views and Documents."\* This is a Biblical geography as well as a history of Israel (nation, religion, customs), and a study of the fauna and the flora of Palestine. In short, it is popular Biblical archæology, but strictly scientific, accompanied by a number of beautiful and exact illustrations.

The fourteenth edition of the Hebrew dictionary of Gesenius,† by Buhl, has appeared since the publication of our last report. This edition—a very excellent one—does not fail to show considerable progress on the preceding one (the thirteenth, also revised by Buhl, 1899). It is to be regretted that they have adopted a much closer and smaller type. The volume, therefore, has 932 instead of 1030 pages, as in the former edition; but it is not so easy to read, nor is the form of the book so handsome. The authoritative edition of the Talmud of Babylon, brought out by

\* Basle, E. Finckh, 1906.

† W. Gesenius' "Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das A. T. in Verbindung mit Prof. Dr. Zimmern bearbeitet von Prof. Dr. F. Buhl, 14<sup>te</sup> A.," Leipzig, Vogel, 1905.

L. Goldschmidt, appears regularly. The last fasciculus (sixth volume, fifth part) contains the first half of the treatise "Baba bathra."\*

#### ISLAM : GENERAL WORKS.

Under the Mussulman Algerien-Tunisian group we have to notice two publications, important from the point of view of the transformation that has taken place in certain religious centres, where Islamism liberates and modernizes itself in contact with European civilization. Liberal Islamism is characteristic in certain Mussulman countries, such as Egypt, Turkey, and India. In reality it forms only a very small minority, but is very conspicuous, and is a sign of the new period that prepares itself in Africa and in Asia.

One of the writings to which we wish first to refer is entitled "The Liberal Spirit of the Koran."† Its authors are three Tunisians—C. Benattar, El Hadj Sebai, and Abdelaziz Ettealbi. This essay is based on a liberal interpretation of the Koran and the Hâdith—that is to say, on an interpretation according to the spirit, and not the letter. The authors explain historically how Islamism became narrow, retrograde, and sometimes intolerant. They attribute this decadence to the following causes: the Crusades, Christian intolerance, Arab scholasticism of the Middle Ages and former times, confraternities and cult of the saints. According to them, Persia has exercised a very regrettable influence on Islamism as regards morals and superstition (magic arts). They preconize the emancipation of women, the suppression of the veil, and insist on obligatory instruction for them; they welcome with enthusiasm the emancipation rôle of France in Mohammedan countries, which they date from the expedition of Bonaparte in Egypt. The authors affirm that the number of Mussulmans in the world is at the present time 400 millions. It is possible, but on what census can one establish this high number? They hold that Islamism

\* Leipzig, O. Harrasowitz, 1906.

† Paris, E. Leroux, 1905.



is a universal religion, and that the Koran, interpreted in its real spirit, is a bond of union between Judaism and Christianity. Be it said, finally, that this work constitutes an excellent and judicious chrestomathy of the Koran.

The second work we wish to mention is the book of an Algerian, Ismäil Hamet, which is called "The French Mussulmans of North Africa." It is divided into three parts—past, present, and future. In the first part the author proves that Berber Autochtones and Arab conquerors became so completely amalgamated after a time that they gradually formed but one and the same people. This prepares the reader for the second part, where the author shows that the European occupation of Algeria, especially by the French, must necessarily influence the natives, and produce in them, after a contact of seventy-four years, a certain evolution—an evolution in agriculture, in commerce, an intellectual evolution. On this subject the author has collected a great number of facts which are of much interest. The population, as estimated in 1902, is composed of 632,260 Europeans, of which 415,228 are French, and of 4,127,079 natives. Since Algeria is on the wave of prosperity and progress, the indigenous population has largely increased. In the last part of the work the author enumerates the many improvements accomplished by France in Algeria. He shows the increased penetration of the two elements of the population (European and natives). The most curious chapter of this last part is the one that treats with religious evolution, and shows the changes that have taken place in the Islamic religion under the influence of French civilization, save among the Mozabites (40,000 natives of Mزاب). They are the Protestants of Islamism, and deny the Divine origin of the Koran.

Under the title of "Islamism and Christianity in Africa,"\* G. Bonet-Maury, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Paris, has published an interesting work for the use of the general public on the history of Islam,

\* Paris, Hachette and Co., 1906.

Christianity, and Judaism in Africa, from their origin to the present day. The author is not a specialist on Moham-medanism, but he writes in a broad and tolerant spirit. His conclusion is worth noting. What is desirable, according to him, is the maintenance in Africa of the two rival religions (Islamism and Christianity) in their respective places, with tolerance and reciprocity.

We draw attention to the admirable and superb collection of Arabic texts in prototype, from the first century of the Hejira to the present time, in the library of the Khedive.\* It contains beautiful plates, facsimiles from monuments, inscriptions, etc., from Morocco to India. It is to be regretted, however, that no English text (except indispensable tables and titles) accompanies the reproductions. Some explanations on the manuscripts would have been • valuable.

#### ISLAMISM AND MOROCCO.

Morocco, the object of covetousness to European Powers generally, and of pre-occupation to others, has created quite a literature in Europe—scientific, political, imaginary.

Amongst the most remarkable works that have appeared we wish first to draw attention to the large collection of texts by H. de Castries: "Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845," two volumes of which have appeared (there will be in all about twenty-four). The author publishes the original texts, with annotations and introductions, and when he tries to deal with Arabic or Dutch texts, he takes care to add a translation. The two volumes that have appeared† contain the diplomatic and other documents from 1553 to 1578; the texts are French, Arabic, Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian. These volumes are of the highest interest, and have been edited very carefully by the author, who deserves the greatest praise and encouragement. The following is the order in

\* "Arabicpalaeography," etc., edited by B. Moritz, Cairo, 1905 (Publications of the Khedive Library, Cairo, No. 16).

† Paris, E. Leroux, 1905.

which the documents will appear (some, as the Dutch ones, have never before been published, whilst others already exist in print, but have become very rare, and are, in consequence, very difficult to be obtained):

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE: DYNASTIE SAADIENNE, 1530-1660.—  
*I. Archives et Bibliothèques de France (en cours de publication). II. et III. Archives et Bibliothèques des Pays-Bas (sous presse). IV. Archives et Bibliothèques d'Angleterre (en préparation). V. Archives et Bibliothèques d'Espagne. VI. et VII. Archives et Bibliothèques de Portugal. VIII. Fonds divers (Italie, Autriche, Belgique, Allemagne, Russie, etc.).*

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE: DYNASTIE FILALIENNE, 1660-1757.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE: DYNASTIE FILALIENNE, 1757-1845.

The most remarkable work, perhaps, which has appeared on Morocco since our last *Report* is that of E. Doutté, entitled, "Merrâkeh," the first volume only of which has been printed.\* Under this modest title the author, one of the most distinguished Arabists of the College of Algiers, has undertaken to bring out a sort of Moroccan Islamic Encyclopædia. The volume that has appeared (more than 400 pp., large 8vo., richly and learnedly illustrated) takes us across Morocco to the gates of Marakesh, the southern capital. The author enters on every subject relating to geography, ethnography, religion, archæology, customs, etc. It is the first time (since that of R. Smith) that comparative ethnography has been applied to Islamism. The author has adopted this method, authoritatively, as a specialist on Islam. The most interesting points on which he enters are: Moroccan ethnography (difficult problems), worship of saints, the Kerkûr, or heaps of sacred stones (*kerker*, break. into big pieces, heap up), Moroccan superstitions, linguistic observations, popular songs, etc. Had we not good reason to say, that the work of Doutté was a "Mussulman Encyclopædia"?

The "Archives Marocaines,"† of which sixteen volumes

\* Paris, Comité du Maroc, 1905. † Paris, E. Leroux, 1904-1906.

have already appeared, become more and more a first-rate collection for the study of Morocco. It is impossible for us to state all that has appeared under this collection. We content ourselves in noticing in the last fasciculi (1905-1906) a learned work of N. Slousch on the history of the Jews and Judaism in Morocco. It is known that this author, whom we have named several times, is versed in the knowledge of the Hebrew language, which he writes remarkably well. His work is divided into four parts: in the first he deals with the Jewish origins in Morocco; in the second with the history of the Jews from the Arab invasion to the persecution of the Almohades (1146); the third part is devoted to literary and religious history; in the fourth and last part the author speaks first of the political and social decadence of the Moroccan Jews (the Jews that have settled down about 2,000 years ago in the regions of the Atlas, and have spread all over Morocco), and afterwards he shows how the Spanish Jews have established themselves there during the epoch of Sultan Merinides at the end of the fourteenth century.

G. Veyre, a Frenchman who has spent three years with the Sultan of Morocco, in order to teach him photography, and acquaint him with the latest improvements of the phonograph, the bicycle, etc., has published an interesting volume on Abd el Aziz.\*

The Sultan appears in it, as I have known him myself, as a grown-up, good child, very little suited to reign over and administer a big country. The author does not seem to know the Arabic language. He translates the name of Abd el Aziz, "the son of the beloved slave"; he speaks of the Sultan's jester, surnamed *Fourach*, meaning *when*, because he is very inquisitive, and uses that word every minute. The author adds that the word *fourach* is used in Fez, whilst at Marakesh they say *yemta*. But *fourach* is a mistake for *foukach*, etc.

\* "Au Maroc, dans l'intimité du Sultan," Librairie Universelle, Paris, 1905.

## S A M A R C A N D.

BY E. H. PARKER.

CHINA'S discovery of the Jaxartes and Oxus region was made between the years 137 and 127 B.C., when the Chinese, dreading the incursions of the Hiung-nu or Early Turks, endeavoured to "cut off their enemy's right arm" by allying themselves with the Ta-yüeh-chi or Indo-Scythians of the Oxus, who had, a generation before, been driven by the former from the Chinese frontiers to the Far West. The Chinese envoy escaped from his long, but not uncomfortable, detention among the Hiung-nu (presumably in the Harashahr region) and made his way to Kokand\* or the Upper Jaxartes valley, then known to the Chinese as Ta-wan. The king of this State was only too anxious to enter into relations with inaccessible China, and he therefore readily supplied an escort to the neighbouring country of K'ang-kü—that is, to the kingdom of the Zarafshan valley—whose ruler, in turn, passed on the Chinese traveller to the Indo-Scythians: these had meanwhile worked their way past the Ili region, and were now comfortably settled in Ta-hia (Tokharestan) or the Upper Oxus valley. Nothing is recorded of K'ang-kü up to the date of the publication of China's first great history in 90 B.C., except that it was a comparatively small state possessing only 80,000 or 90,000 mounted archers; that politically it adopted a trimming attitude between its powerful neighbours the Indo-Scythians to the south and the Hiung-nu to the east, whose similar nomadic mode of life it followed; and that the Alains (then called An-ts'ai or Azes) of the Great Marsh (the Aral) were as far to its north-west as Kokand was to its south-east—i.e., 2,000 *li*, or about 600 English miles; the Indo-Scythians'

\* See "Kokand and China," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1899 (the earliest history of Kokand will be continued anon). See also "The Ephthalite Turks," *ibid.*, July, 1902, and "Chinese Buddhism," *ibid.*, October, 1902.

headquarters were 300 miles to their south. China having, about 100 B.C., got into a war with Kokand about some blood horses, K'ang-kü observed a watching attitude, and at first even assisted Kokand. The victorious Chinese, however, pursued Kokand refugees into K'ang-kü territory, and it was thought prudent to surrender them.

As Rémusat has pointed out, the organization of Tartary has changed very little during the past 2,000 years. Even now the population, all the way from Russia in Europe right up to Manchuria, does not exceed that of the single city of Greater London. The horse-riding nomads variously styled Ta-yüeh-chi, Wu-sun, Scythians, Huns, Ephthalites, Turks, Avars, Tartars, Ouigours, and Mongols have always shiftingly occupied the same oases and plains, raiding in turn Greece, Rome, Armenia, Persia, Transoxiana, the Punjab, and China as opportunity offered. The generals of Alexander came into immediate contact with them in 328 B.C., when Maracanda was alternately taken and lost; when the nomads on the right bank drove General Spitamenes to Bokhara; when Merv (one of the Alexandrias) was founded; and when Khiva or Chorasmia offered her military aid to the threatened Greeks. There is no proof that the persistent Chinese syllable *K'ang*, which appears throughout the centuries in every single name for *Samarcand* ("Fat City") is the same syllable as that in *Maracanda*; but there is much specific evidence to show that the region surrounding Maracanda city can be traced through Chinese sources for 2,000 years, step by step, to the region surrounding Samarcand city.

The second Chinese history carries us a century later, and brings us down to A.D. 5. In 60 B.C. an Imperial Chinese Proconsul had already been established on the Tarim River, with headquarters near modern Kuché. Part of his duties was to watch both the Wu-sun (Ili) and K'ang-kü. K'ang-kü's second neighbour to the south was Arsac\* (or Parthia) across the Oxus, which then included

\* See "Early Persia," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1903.

Merv and part of Bokhara. It had now been ascertained by the Chinese that five subordinate States belonged to K'ang-kü; these have been identified with Khwârisim, Râmêthan (Bokhara), Koshânya (on the Zarafshan, east of Bokhara), Shahr-i-sabz, and Tashkend; and there is reason to believe that the rulers of these were the *jabgu*, or princes of the blood, specifically mentioned amongst the Ili, Indo-Scyth, Hiung-nu, and Turk princes in turn; like our "jarls." The king had both a summer and a winter capital (both unidentified), and apparently a thousand miles apart from each other. His population numbered 600,000 souls in 120,000 households. As his troops also numbered 120,000, it is probable that each tent must have supplied one warrior, and it seems certain that all Sogdiana was included in the K'ang-kü domain. During the period 74-49 B.C., the Chinese had broken up all the Hiung-nu within reach, and five *Jenuye*\* or rival Supreme Khans were fighting together. The most powerful of these fled to the west, and commenced a series of domineering political intrigues with an Ili pretender and with K'ang-kü, the daughter of whose king he married, and ultimately slew; the conspirators' idea was to divide the Ili region between them and to defy China. He fixed his capital upon the river Lai (which has not been identified), and demanded tribute from the Alains. The Chinese Proconsul—the same one who sent one of his lieutenants to Parthia and through him discovered the existence of Mesopotamia and the Roman Empire—allowed one of his generals to undertake an expedition as far as the Aral; this was in the year 36 B.C. The Hiung-nu *Jenuye* was slain, and his city was taken by storm. It is interesting to note that the Kirghis (Kien-K'un) took part in the rebel discussions, if not in the actual fighting, and that the modern Manchu official geographies of to-day distinctly identify the region of the ancient K'ang-kü capital, and also the region of one of the

\* As to this title, see *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1904, "New Facts about Marco Polo."

sub-capitals in Sogdiana, with the east and west *yus* of the Kazaks (Kirghis) of to-day; besides separately stating distinctly that the same Kirghis of to-day occupy the ancient K'ang-kü land. Although after the discomforture of Kokand K'ang-kü sent a page-hostage to China as the Hiung-nu and the Wu-sun of Ili had done, she received the Proconsul's return envoy with a great show of independence, and declined to perform the *kotow*: "The king and his nobles ate and drank first, after which food and drink was given to the Proconsul's emissary." Under these circumstances chagrined China was obliged to content herself with the bare semblance of political submission, as her officers reported K'ang-kü to be a much more formidable power than ever Kokand had been. At no period since the above events have Chinese troops ever again succeeded in demonstrating in real force so far to the north-west. During a new "spurt" of political activity in A.D. 23, it is distinctly stated that Indo-Scythia, Cabul,\* K'ang-kü, and Parthia were not in any way included in the list of fifty Far Western States recognising Chinese hegemony or suzerainty. It is to be noted that Kokand was for long the only state beyond the present bounds of the Chinese Empire really under influence.

The third dynastic history, treating of the period A.D. 25-220, actually mentions that the later name for the Alains is Alan-liao, and that they paid tribute in "rat-skins" (sables, marmots, beavers, etc.) to K'ang-kü, whose manners and customs much resembled their own. The unexplained *liao* is probably a word meaning "the Liu country," which (in the next history, dated about A.D. 250) is said to be *near A-lan State*. I observe that Professor Chavannes has, in his latest pamphlet, also taken this view. K'ang-kü had been engaged in several wars with Kokand, and in A.D. 78, during the period when the Chinese Proconsul Pan Ch'ao was vigorously contesting Indo-Scyth supremacy in the Kashgar region, he led Kashgar, Khoten, and K'ang-kü troops against the place

\* See "China and the Cabul Valley," *English History Review*, October, 1905.



now called Yaka-Aryk, near Kuché. In 87, again, we find these K'ang-kü troops fighting against Chinese, and endeavouring to establish a nominee of their own at Kashgar; but as their king was allied by marriage with the Indo-Scyths, the latter, at the friendly request of the Chinese Proconsul, caused K'ang-kü to desist;\* two years later K'ang-kü again assisted the Kashgar pretender, who was ultimately taken and decapitated by Pan Ch'ao. In A.D. 88 the Hiung-nu were once more broken up by the Chinese, and the northern branch of them fled west, to the region of K'ang-kü. We shall shortly hear of this horde again.

The *Wei Lioh*† history brings us down to A.D. 239, and states that the kingdoms of Ili (Wu-sun) and Al Sogd (K'ang-kü) remain undiminished in size and power; however, the Wei dynasty had no relations with the latter, though it had such with the Indo-Scythian King Vasudêva\* to its south. Alan is now mentioned with Liu State, but without the syllable *liao*, and to the west of it is stated to be some place belonging to the Roman Empire‡ (Ta-ts'in); sables are specifically mentioned instead of "rats"; and the description given of the Aral tribes farther north is perfectly consistent with that of the earlier history, though manifestly quite independent; it is noteworthy that the Aral is up to this date always characterized as a vast marsh, which, at that time, may have run also into the Caspian Sea. The Alains or Alans no longer pay tribute to K'ang-kü, and the Kirghis lie to the north-west, as Roman Russia or Sarmatia (Ta-ts'in) does to the west. Far to the north-west, beyond the Alans, is "Short Man State," over 3,000 English miles away from K'ang-kü, whose old men tell tales of trading caravans going thither; this interesting statement perhaps refers to the squat Lapps, whom the

\* See "Ephthalite Turks," cited above, p. 142. Also "Kashgar" and "Yarkand," *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October, 1905, and January, 1906.

† Just translated, so far as it survives, by Professor E. Chavannes.

‡ See "Avars and Franks," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1902; "Western Turks," *ibid.*, October, 1903. The Roxolani and Sarmatians were probably the most advanced Roman posts at that date.

writer of these lines had an opportunity of studying near the North Cape last summer, and who walk and dress somewhat like the Mongols. In the year 287 a mission with "offerings" was sent by K'ang-kii to the newly-established Tsin dynasty (265-420), which had about twenty years back re-united the greater part of distracted China, but which was throughout menaced by Tibetan and Tartar adventurers in the north. After that for a century and a half nothing is heard of the place so far as China is concerned; the more easterly Tartars (early Mongols, Manchus, etc.) drive many of the Hiung-nu (Early Turks) west, and to this period of pressure doubtless belongs the gradual emigration still farther westward of the Avars and Huns—as we called them in Europe.

For three centuries (300-600) the whole of North China was, off and on, in the hands of *soi-disant* "imperial" Tibetans and Tartars, and for two of these centuries (386-580) the half-civilized Mongoloid Toba dynasty of "North Wei" ruled very effectively as Emperors of North China, whilst purer Chinese dynasties carried purer civilization across the river Yangtze, and established a rival administration and a more literary centre at Nanking. None of these southern dynasties had anything whatever to do with the Far West, and for a long time even the northern dynasty declined to embarrass itself with those Western Asian complications which, it confessed, had proved so steadily troublesome to the Han dynasties (200 B.C. to A.D. 200). However, towards the middle of the fifth century, after the return of the Chinese pilgrim, Fah Hien, from his fifteen years' wanderings in the Tarim Valley, India, and Java, it was decided to despatch a number of political travellers to report upon the less-known, because now forgotten, regions of the Far West. Arriving amongst the Wu-sun of Ili, the ambassadors were informed that Fergana (as Kokand was now called) and Chesh (Tashkend, apparently now the capital of the northern part of old K'ang-kü) wished to be on good terms with China;

guides and interpreters were furnished as in the days of yore, and the travellers were duly passed on to, and were well received in, those two States. Thus did history repeat itself after an interval of 600 years. It appears that at this time the wars with Persia had considerably enfeebled the Indo-Scythian power, and that by some process (not clearly traceable) further Turkoid migrations from the original seats of the Ta-yüeh-chi in the East had not only reinforced and even transplanted their kinsmen, the Ta-yüeh-chi, who had long been settled on the Oxus and Indus, but had superimposed upon the whole trans-Pamir region the new tribal or dynastic name of Eptal, or Ephthalite—an eponymous designation taken, in Turkish style, from the personal name of a doughty warrior. Most of the imperial clans of the Hiung-nu had been driven far to the West, and had been replaced in Mongolia by a new ruling power called the Jou-jan (mistakenly supposed by Gibbon, and others following his lead, to be the Avars); but a Hiung-nu ruler, still bearing the ancient title of *Jenuye*, had continuously ruled somewhere in the Balkash region, and he is distinctly stated to have been the lineal representative of those Hiung-nu who had, as above recounted, fled west in A.D. 88. He was civilized, and on good terms with his Eptal neighbours to the south-west; but not at all so with his uncouth Jou-jan neighbours to the east. The name of his State was Yüeh-pan (Evar, or Avar), and it was 1,600 miles to the east of Sogd; the language was similar to the "High Cart" language (*i.e.*, to Ouigour Turk). Subsequent to 464 these Avars are never once mentioned by the Chinese, and they apparently took a century to work their way across Sarmatia to Constantinople.\* The Hiung-nu who had preceded the Avars, and who had been driven at least as far as the Aral in 36 B.C., are almost certain to have mixed with the Sarmatians, and to have been the Huns

\* See "China, the Avars, and the Franks," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1902, and "The Turks joining European and Asian Civilizations," *ibid.*, April, 1904, in which full evidence is given in support of these views.

who in the fourth century A.D. invaded Europe and tried conclusions with Hermanric the Goth.\*

Amongst the West Asian powers who during the fifth century sent envoys to North China, were Chesh, the Avars, and the Sogdians. The State of Sogd (Suk-têh) had been conquered by the Hiung-nu, and their King (whom Dr. F. Hirth boldly endeavours to identify with the Hun Hernax) was the third ruler of the new dynasty when the Chinese opened communications. The southern part of old K'ang-kü, now called K'ang, never once sent envoys to China (a spurious gloss to the contrary has been disproved); together with Khoten, Kashgar, and Bokhara, it was then under the dominion, or at least the suzerainty, of the Eptals; who, however, themselves at that time sent many missions to China, and either allowed or failed to prevent the same action by their other sub-States; from which fact it seems likely that the Zarafshan valley was part of their central dominion, and that Persian pressure made Chinese friendship desirable to them. But there is some confusion in the loose Chinese nomenclature, for a country called Sih-wan-kin † (Sa-mar-kent), with a capital city of the same name, is mentioned as though it had an independent existence apart from K'ang. It is also noticeable that the old name of Arsac (Parthia) is now used to indicate the Merv and Bokhara region as a separate State, but under Eptal suzerainty.

The Turks (a tribe of Hiung-nu) annihilated both the Jou-jan and the Eptal powers about the middle of the sixth century; and, as the Avars (Yüeh-pan) lay at the north-eastern and north-western apex of the Eptal and Jou-jan dominions, it necessarily follows that the Turks must have swept up or driven forward any remains of the Avars lying between them and Constantinople, whither

\* See the twenty-sixth chapter of "Gibbon" for the progress of the Huns through the country of the Alani and Roxolani.

† This syllable *sih* is the same as that used in the word *têh-sih* (*terai*, or Christians), and even now *wan* is pronounced *man* in Cantonese and many other modern Chinese dialects. Cf. also *An-sih* for *Arsac*.

they promptly hastened in order to demand the surrender of the surviving Avars, arrived in advance of them, from the Emperor Justin. In other words, the humble Hiung-nu slave tribe of "Türk," left behind on the Chinese frontier, when the stronger Huns and Avars were driven west in 36 B.C., and A.D. 88, had gradually developed; had overthrown its tyrannous Jou-jan masters and its Eptal rivals; had interfered in Persian affairs; and had possessed itself of the whole line of practicable pasture between the Volga and the Amur. In the early part of the seventh century, the Kings of Bokhara and Khargân, on the Zarafshan, claimed to be the twentieth and tenth of their lines respectively, so that both Eptals and Turks must have left these and the other States much to their own devices, subject to good behaviour. The Western\* Turks dominated the valleys of the Ili, Chu, Jaxartes, Zarafshan, and Oxus; their kinsmen (and usually enemies), the Northern or Eastern Turks, harried China and dominated Mongolia; the Tarim and Ili Valleys were the chief bones of contention between the rival Turks, who, however, belonged to one and the same family of Ashino.

The Tobas, however, never had any forceful influence in Western High Asia, and their career in China was ended when the Turks were first heard of under that name (550). When China was reunited under the short-lived Sui dynasty (581-618), and still more firmly under powerful T'ang house (618-906), it was found that the Western Turk Tardu (who is clearly mentioned at that date by the Greek authors) had given his daughter in marriage to the King of K'ang: this ruler had under him the sub-kings of Maimargh, Kesh, Kabûdhan, Koshânya, Bokhara, Khargân, Nakhshab, Âmol (Chardjui), and an unidentified place sixty miles south-west of Chardjui called A-na-hoh. All these kings belonged to the "Chao-wu" family (which has been speculatively identified with the *Siyâwâ* of Western authors), taking this name from a place near Kan Chou, in China, whence the Ta-yüeh-chî started on their first migration, in or about

\* See "Western Turks," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1903.

160 B.C. Thus it would seem that the Turks had left part of the Eptals to govern their old patrimony as vassal, and also as mesne-suzerain, kings ; for, as the chief king wore a "pigtail," it is to be presumed that the Turks (like the modern Manchus) imposed this Tartar appendage upon their subjects of the Oxus, who are never stated to have worn pigtailed before. All the places named above had formed part of old K'ang-kü, except Bokhara, Âmol, and A-na-hoh, which had belonged to ancient Parthia. But the capital city A-lan-mit (*Râmêthan*), in Bokhara had been part of the old K'ang-kü. Another capital, Numeshkath, had, in Toba times, also given the whole State its name (Niu-mit). Besides Buddhism, the religions of Mazdéism and Christianity flourished, or, at least, were tolerated in Turkish dominions.\*

A considerable change must now have taken place in the manners of the people, for the description of the deep-eyed, bearded inhabitants—their carpets and rugs, the *Hu* (Hindu or Tartar) "sideways writing," the cotton clothes, vegetable gardens, stores of grape-wine, the "fat" country, the huckstering habits, and so on—corresponds pretty closely with what the older histories said of Parthia and Kokand, and suggests a gradually increasing influx of the Persian or Sart elements from the south. The kings bore an hereditary title, the Chinese transliteration of which suggests the sound *Sibir* ; but the marriage and funeral customs were Turkish—probably alluding only to the governing and representative classes. The chief King's capital was A-luh-tih city, on the river Sah-pao, both names, unfortunately, quite unidentifiable. The sub-kings' respective towns are easily identified, for in most cases the new Turkish or Persian name is given, together with the

\* See "Early Christian Road to China," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1903. The worship of the *têh-sih* spirit is specifically mentioned in K'ang (Samarcand), Central Ts'ao (Kabûdhan), and Western Ts'ao (Ishtikhân). The pilgrim Hsüan Chwang found fire-worship among the West Turks (seventh century). The Ouigour Turks adopted Manicheism, and ultimately took it under their protection in their relations with China.

older Chinese, and the distances, directions, and banks of rivers indicated enable us to be quite sure.

A little later, just at the beginning of the seventh century, Stone State (*i.e.*, "*Tash* city" or Tashkent\*) is described as being quite a separate State, annexed by the Turks, and with no reference made to the earlier names of Chesh and K'ang-kü. Indeed, in one place it is said to have been the northern part of old Ta-wan (Kokand), and its chief city, at the same time one of the five sub-States of old K'ang-kü. K'ang is plainly stated to be both the ancient K'ang-kü and the Sih-wan-kin of the Toba dynasty, now also called Sah-moh-kien. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Hsuan Chwang, also gives it this name (630). The Turkish conquest of the Eptals is mentioned, and two more subject States are added to the K'ang domain, to wit, Khwârizm and Wardân. Even Shao-shî-fên, the name of King Shanushfar of Khwârizm has been identified—*i.e.*, of the Chorasmi, whose ancestors assisted Spitamenes, and also of the Chinese Hwan-ts'ien State mentioned in 100 B.C. The King of Samarcand, who was married to a Turkish girl, is here named, but the girl is given to Tardu's grandson—probably in accordance with the Hiung-nu and Turkish custom that sons take over their deceased father's wives, except their natural mother. The influx of foreigners from the south is partly explained, for it is stated that the Brahmans manage the astrology of the State, and that the year begins with the twelfth moon—practically the Julian calendar. In 631, after China had utterly broken the power of the Eastern Turks, Samarcand offered her vassalage; but the Emperor, whose correspondence is on record, declined to accept such distant responsibilities. There were, however, half a dozen embassies to China between that date and 647, and in 657 the Chinese armies decisively routed the West Turks before the city of Tashkent. The Kings of Samarcand were henceforth

\* The better opinion is that *Tash*, and therefore also *Shih* or "Stone," is a corruption of the ancient Jadj (the Chinese *Chesh*), twenty miles south-west of modern Tashkent.

nominated by China, and the Chinese accounts of the wars with the Arabs are amply confirmed by the "Arabian Livy," Al Tabarī (Persian version), who finished his history in A.D. 914.\* For instance, the Chinese Tuk-so Pot-t'i who was patented in 691 is the Arabo-Persian Tugshad Patī (a name also borne by the King of Bokhara in 726), and his son Ni-nieh-shī-shī bears the same unidentified name as Ni-nieh-shī, son of the Persian Sassanide King Piruz, who died in China about the year 680. His son, T'uh-hun, has been identified by Marquardt with Tabarī's "Tarkôn, King of Sogd," whose successor U-lêk-k'a, is Tabarī's "Ghurek, King of Samarcand." Ghurek unsuccessfully attempted to obtain China's assistance against the Arabs (the Chinese actually mention the Arab General, Emir Kotaiba, under the disguise I-mi K'ü-ti-po); and in a letter to China, dated in the spring of 719, Ghurek mentions Kotaiba's coming "here" (Samarcand) "six years ago" (the siege lasted from October, 711, to October, 712), "after thirty-five years of warfare." When the Arabs killed I-sz-hou (Yezdegerd, father of Piruz) in 654, they captured Maimargh, and in 731, Ghurek's request that two of his sons might be appointed sub-kings of Maimargh and Kabûdhan respectively was granted. One of these sons, Tuh-hot (? Tukhar), ultimately succeeded Ghurek on the Samarcand throne, and sent an official of *moh-ye-mên* (?) rank as envoy to China. This Persian (?) status is mentioned in connection with one of the other States. The last recorded Samarcand mission to China was in 772, after which the Ouigour Turks and the Tibetans dominated all the country between China and the Far West, and distracted China even found a third dangerous enemy in the Nan-shao (old Siamese) empire of Yün Nan. In the year 801, the Siamese† (who had not yet migrated in force to the Ménam Valley) captured a number

\* For all particulars, see Chavannes' "Turcs Occidentaux" (Luzac and Co., 1903), and Barthold's "Altürkischen Inschriften und die Arabischen Quellen" (Russian Imperial Academy, 1899). The Chinese make out that in the year 713 both Tashkent and Samarcand were Arab vassal States.

† See "Siam," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1897.



of Abbasside Arab and Samarcand troops who were fighting on the Tibetan side.\* After this the Arabs seem to have fallen out with the Tibetans, for the Chinese state that in 785-805 the Caliph Holun (Harún-al-Rashid) who had succeeded his brother Mou-ts'i (Musa), by his rivalry with the Tibetans kept these latter marauders off the Chinese frontier, and the cowed Chinese were only too glad to leave the troublesome Far West to "cook in its own juice" once more. During the tenth century the Arab writer Ebn Haikal writes of the "Sogd of Samarcand."

The once great T'ang dynasty (618-906) now gradually collapsed; the greater part of North China was ruled for half a century by Kitan (Cathayan or Mongoloid), and Turkish Emperors (Ongut branch); the great Sung dynasty (Marco Polo's "Manzi," 960-1260), whilst reuniting most of China, determined to have as little as possible to do with distant adventure in any direction, and we hear absolutely nothing of Samarcand (during the tenth century under the Samanides, during the eleventh and part of the twelfth under the Seldjuks, and during part of the twelfth under the Karakitans) until first of all the Cathayans fly west, and next Genghis Khan sweeps away the Tartar rivals of the Manzi in the north; runs foul of the "King of the Mussulmans" (Sultan of Khwârizm) in the Far West; and advancing in 1219 from the River Irtish, crosses the Jaxartes, captures Bokhara (March, 1220), and takes Samarcand (April, 1220), which was garrisoned by 40,000† troops, "mostly Kankalis."‡ Genghis left in charge at Samarcand a Cathayan from China of the ex-royal house named Ye-lüh A-hai, who, however, soon after died there. We are indebted to another distinguished Cathayan in Genghis' service (Ye-lüh Ch'u-ts'ai) for a history of

\* See "How the Tibetans Grew," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1904.

† I follow Bretschneider; other accounts say the garrison numbered 200,000.

‡ I believe many Orientalists suppose this word to be etymologically connected with K'ang. Another Chinese name for Na-shik-p'o or Nakshab had been Nok-shik-po-lo (? Nakshe-pura), later called Lesser Kesh, because Kesh had subdued it.

Genghis' campaigns. During Genghis' absence at his summer quarters, between Samarcand and Naksheb, the Sultan of the Kipchaks defeated the Turkoid Naimans and reoccupied Samarcand; but he precipitately evacuated the place when Genghis, having been unsuccessful on the Indus, massacred a second time the population of Balkh, crossed the Oxus to Bokhara, and made for Samarcand, where he wintered (1223-1224).

The Chinese have no records whatever of the doings of the Soffarides, Samanides, Seldjuks, and other Turks during this "off" period of 400 years (800-1200). When the Nüchên Tartar dynasty (1115-1234), which succeeded the Cathayan dynasty (907-1122) in the Peking plain and in North China, was firmly established, the distinguished Cathayan Prince Ye-lüh Ta-shih\* gradually fought his way past the Ouigour Turks and "all the Western kingdoms," right away to Semiskan (Sîm-sz-kan), where in 1124-1125 he achieved a great victory, and received the submission and tribute of "the Mussulman† King." It is significant that he styled the reign-year 1226 *K'ang Kwoh*, or "Glorious Kingdom," evidently a pun on the words "State of K'ang." After three months' rest, he went on westwards with his victorious host, and even founded an empire in K'i-r-man,‡ thus completely displacing the various Seldjuks. They were succeeded in Khwârizm by the Seldjuk slave governor Cothbeddin Mahommed, who

\* This Cathayan himself says the word "Semiscant" means *fei*, or "fat," which, in fact, is translated in Turkish by *semis*. The Chinese historians of Genghis' wars call it Sie-mi-sz-kan. The Persian syllable *kan* (*kent* or *cand*) has probably nothing etymologically to do with *K'ang* or *K'ang-kü*, which are both likely to be the *Cangitæ* of Carpini, and the *Kankly* of the Arabo-Persian authors.

† This is the first time the term *Hwei-hwei*—the only universally-known Chinese term for "Mussulman"—ever appears in history (see "China and Religion," John Murray, p. 146).

‡ See Sykes's "Persia" (John Murray) on the Kitan tomb remains still existing at Kerman in South Persia. Dr. Bretschneider erroneously concluded that Kermané near Bokhara was meant, not believing the Cathayans could have gone so far.

founded a new dynasty there. It was his great-great-grandson who was ousted by Genghis Khan as above described.

Samarcand was repeatedly visited by Europeans in Genghis Khan's time ; it was the seat of a Latin Bishop, and also possessed a Nestorian church. The Christians of the day styled it Semiscant ; and Haithon, King of Armenia, who visited Tartary, called it Semergent. The Taoist monk, who was sent for from China by Genghis, calls it Ho-chung Fu—*i.e.*, "Mid-river Prefecture," or (a second) Mesopotamia ; *i.e.*, "Between the Rivers (Oxus and Jaxartes)," or the Arabic *Bein-naharein*. Marco Polo mentions a Christian governor of Chinkiang in China, named Mar Sarghiz, from "Samarcan," and he also mentions a hanging pillar in a temple there. These statements are confirmed in a striking manner by the Russian Archimandrite Palladius\* (Ivanovitch Koporoff), who about twenty years ago discovered confirmation of both assertions in a Chinese work on Chinkiang. As Marco Polo points out, Samarcand was in the hostile hands of Kublai's cousin, one of Jagatai's descendants, and nothing more is heard of it in Chinese history until 1308, when the Mongol Emperor Hayshan sends an envoy thither. A return missionary named Eleman Ghazan came to Peking from Samarcand, bringing with him a census of the place as it was in Genghis' time. The Mongol envoy Seridai Temchu took the opportunity to make modifications in the dates upon which taxes—or, perhaps, tribute—were payable by Samarcand, Tashkend, and Talas.

It is curious to find that the Ming dynasty (1368-1643) places Sa-ma-r-han State in the Cabul Valley, and identifies it with the Ki-pin (Cophene) of 1,300 years previous, and with the Ts'ao (Ghazna of Zâbulistân) of 700 years

\* See "China and Religion," p. 184. In the Escorial near Madrid there is a similar marvellous central pillar, which appears to support the whole roof, like the pillar in the chapter-house of Westminster ; but you can insert a sheet of paper between the pillar and the plinth. I have seen it done myself.

previous. But this is not extraordinary, considering\* that Tamerlane was so called from the wound he received in Afghanistan, and that his son's capital was at Herat. The history of the Ming dynasty (1368-1643) contains quite a long account of "Son-in-law Timur," who must therefore have married a princess of the supreme Mongol house, or possibly a daughter of the Jagatai Sultan Kazan—his master before he himself was elected. Having driven out the Mongols, the Ming Emperor at once sent to "summon" all and sundry to do homage. Timur took no notice of this for twenty years, but in 1387 he despatched the *mollah* Hafiz with "tribute"† of fifteen horses and two camels. His subjects for many years drove a lucrative horse trade with the Chinese frontier merchants, as the Hiung-nu, Turks, and Ouigours had always done before. Owing to 1,200 of his merchants scattered about all over China having been sent back, Tamerlane wrote a long letter of remonstrance, which is still on record; its literary graces secured the commendation of the Emperor, who sent back a gracious—rather too gracious—reply in 1395. The exacting Chinese envoy, however, was detained for ten years in Samarcand, and in 1405 the alarming news came that Tamerlane, with a view to restoring a Mongol dynasty, was marching upon China by way of Bishpalik, where precautions were at once ordered to be taken. But, luckily for China, he never reached Bishpalik, having, at the ripe age of seventy, breathed his last at Otrar, the identical town where, two centuries before, Mahommed of Khwârisim had caused Genghis Khan's envoys to be murdered, and had thus caused the conquest of the West. His grandson, Ha-li (Khâilil) sent the Chinese ambassador safely back, on which the mollified Emperor despatched an envoy to sacrifice—equivalent to our "laying a wreath"—on Timur's

\* See "China and the Cabul Valley," in the *English History Review* for October, 1905.

† The "Encyclopædia Britannica" is wrong in saying Timur's capital fell later on into the hands of the Chinese.

tomb. The Castilian envoy Clavijo was at Timur's Court the year before the latter's death; he calls it "Cimesquinte," or "Great City." Schildberger was also there, and has left an account of his experiences. For many years after this, friendly missions were exchanged; but, according to the lengthy Chinese accounts, the Samarcand envoys always displayed an overreaching, chaffering, and greedy tendency throughout. Their usual route was the most northerly one, through Turfan, but on at least one occasion they chose the sea route *viâ* Canton, buying up handsome girls as they went. Between 1407 and 1618 Samarcand sent over forty missions to China, and a number of kings are named whose Chinese disguises are not always easy to penetrate in the Western annals—*e g.*, Ulupê Gurkhan (1435); Busaïn (1457); Sultan Musa (a little later); Achmat (1487), etc. Abdullah Khan in 1538 was the last great ruler of Samarcand and Bokhara combined. First the Kirghis, and then (1700) the Eleuths, exercised a sort of domination over it; then it fell to Bokhara. The Empire of Shah Rukh is treated by the Chinese as though it were quite a separate country. Tashkend, Sairam, Yangi, Kesh, Termed, Bokhara, Bishpalik, Andkhui, Badakshan, and Herat are all specially described, and there is much more of interest to say about Timur, his relatives, his vassals, and his descendants; but the specific object of this paper is to treat historically of Samarcand, and space is sternly limited.

During 400 years (1440-1840) we in Europe have also had our "off" season with Samarcand, during which no Western accounts whatever have appeared. According to Dr. Sven Hedin, however, in 1620 a Russian envoy, Khokhloff, went there, and also in or about 1795 a Russian officer named Yefremoff. The same authority mentions a revolt in 1722 against Abul Feiz Khan, on the ground that he had failed to take his seat on the *kok tash*, or "holy stone," preserved in a saint's tomb there, near Tamerlane's tomb. A Russian scientific mission went to Samarcand in 1841; Vambéry visited the place in 1863; and in 1866 it was

occupied by the Russians under General Kaufmann, who suppressed a revolt in 1868. An account of the more recent Trans-Pamir dealings of the Manchu dynasty was given by myself in the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1896 ; but Kokand and Bokhara seem to be the only powers in that region taken seriously by the Chinese. We may revert to the later history of Samarcand again.

## THE YUNAN EXPEDITION OF 1875, AND THE CHEEFOO CONVENTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF COLONEL (NOW GENERAL)  
HORACE A. BROWNE.

(Continued from p. 354, April, 1906.)

*January 29.*—I consider that the farce has lasted long enough, so I ride into Bhamo to see if mules cannot be procured to go by the upper route. Cooke, accompanied by a Tsa-re-daw-gyee, goes to Tse-kaw to see about them, and I engage boats to carry our baggage from Sawaddy to that place, but direct them not to put in an appearance before to-morrow morning, lest the Kakhyengs, on seeing them, should bolt with our baggage during the night. The Won anticipates difficulties, and says that the Kakhyengs will not give up our things unless a stronger force is on the spot, so he is going to send reinforcements.

*January 30.*—I summon the Tsawbwa and his followers to a solemn audience. With the sternest voice and the most severe countenance I can assume, I enumerate my grievances against them. Here we have been for a week, and our departure seems as far off as ever. Our provisions are being consumed, and we cannot live on rice alone. The Tsawbwa's first statement that he had arranged with the other Tsawbwes for our passage is not true. I have therefore abandoned my idea of going by this route. The Tsawbwa replied that he was angry when he refused to accompany us. Now he is ready to do so. The bullocks having come, their hire must be paid. I demurred to paying for bullocks whose owners refused to start, but as I knew that the Pawmaings had been put to some expense, I would make them a small present if our baggage is brought back at once.

Whether it was in consequence of my threatening mien,

or the promise of a present, or the knowledge that a large Burman force was at hand, or a combination of all three causes, I know not, but in a very short time I had the satisfaction of finding that our boxes had all, with the exception of course of what the Kakhyengs had already stolen, been brought back to our encampment. We had no time to verify the exact amount of our losses by theft, but it was considerable. Sugar and salt had all gone. Of brandy they left us a little. The Sikhs' provision boxes had all had holes drilled in them, and specimens of their contents extracted. The holes, it must be admitted, had been most considerably stopped up with rags. Moungh Mo was in such a fright that he absolutely refused to convey my remonstrances to the Kakhyengs in their own language, and when I found other means of making my feelings known to them, they blandly smiled and assured me it was quite a mistake to suppose that they were the culprits. The most one could do was to congratulate one's self that things were no worse.

*January 31.*—The Pawmaings appear in the morning without the Tsawbwa, who sends word to say he is going to send me an explanatory letter. I wonder what this will contain. If the Burmans have really been instigating the Kakhyengs to thwart us, the Tsawbwa will no doubt say so.

The baggage having gone we ride into Bhamo. I find that the Won, in his anxiety for our safety, has been collecting a naval force—that is, he has put some gingals into boats which he has manned with 300 men, who now to their great delight can go back to their homes.

I hear that the Tsawbwas on the upper route are ready to bring in mules.

Moungh Yo, my Yunnan Chinaman receives the congratulations of his countrymen on his getting back safe from Sawaddy. They have themselves, they say, tried this route, but were robbed of everything.

*February 1.*—Two petty Tsawbwas of the Central route have just returned from a visit to Mandalay, where, in



consequence of the King's Embassy having been safely conveyed through their territories, they have been decorated with golden phylacteries, on which are inscribed their titles, and golden umbrellas. Ponies also with gilded saddle-flaps and housings have been bestowed upon them, and in these they paraded through the town this morning, preceded by heralds proclaiming their titles. The taste for decorations and gewgaws of this kind, it seems, is not a product of civilization, but rather a relic of barbarism.

*February 2.*—After having, at Cooke's suggestion, changed all my coin into Chinese silver lumps, I find that since my arrival there has been a complete revulsion of popular feeling on the subject. Some brand new effigies of Her Majesty have so taken the Kakhyengs' fancy, especially the women's, that all now are anxious to have them. But now the Chinese money-changers declare that they have sent all my rupees away.

*February 3.*—That slaves are still bought and sold in Upper Burma is a well-known fact, but slavery is not an offensively prominent factor in Burmese social life, and has never come under my notice till to-day, when a little girl was offered to me for sale by a Burman woman, the price demanded being Rs. 45. The unfortunate creature appeared to be half starved. The father had been killed by Kakhyengs, who captured the girl and her mother and brought them in for sale. The mother had already been sold.

I have been considering the advisability of riding up accompanied only by Margary, through the Kakhyeng Hills to Manwaing on the Chinese frontier, leaving the baggage and the others to follow. The Won earnestly dissuades me from doing anything of the kind. A big man, he says, would be as valuable to the Kakhyengs as our baggage, and if I went he might have to send an army to rescue me from captivity.

There arrives a man from the Sawaddy route to say that the Tsawbwa holds a letter from the Burmese authorities which will explain his conduct, and this he will show to

Cooke if Cooke will visit his village. This is vague and mysterious, but shows that the Kakhyengs want to impute our failure to the Burmans.

*February 6.*—Our baggage having arrived at Tsekaw, I ride up there a distance of fifteen miles, along the tortuous course of the Tapeng River, which one has to cross three times. Before leaving Bhamo I learnt that a Russian traveller named Lenewkow or Leneffkoff arrived there yesterday. I was curious to know what his business was, but could not ascertain before I left. Russians are not given to wandering about without a purpose like simple English globe-trotters.

*February 7.*—I commence my palavers with the Kakhyengs of this route. They are divided into two principal clans—the Lakwons and the Atsees, but the number of Tsawbwawas is more than a dozen. At the time of the last expedition only three chiefs of note—viz., Poonlien, Poontsee, and Tsarai were met with, but now that trade is reviving the Tsawbwa's business has been found to be profitable, and some fifteen heads of villages have set up as free and independent Tsawbwawas, entitled to have their say to all caravans passing between Tsekaw and Manwaing. The chief Tsawbwawas of the Lakwons are Poonlien, Poontse, and Tsarai, and the head of the Atsees is Wonkaw.

About mid-day the Poonlien Tsawbwa stalked into the monastery where we were staying. Over his head was borne a gold umbrella, conferred upon him by the King of Burma, and on his head was a greasy old felt hat surmounted by a brass button, a distinction given to him, he says, by the Emperor of China. Of this decoration he is inordinately proud, though it is one which is bestowed, as Margary informs me, upon petty officials, such as corporals, peons, etc.

This Tsawbwa is one of the dirtiest and most repulsive specimens of his race, which is saying a good deal. He awkwardly poked out a filthy fist to shake which was rather

repugnant to one's feelings, and then squatted down on a chair with his feet on the seat. At first he was sulky and reticent, and tried to do the *grand seigneur*, but, after imbibing a good part of a bottle of brandy, he became more communicative. He took his liquor neat, as water, he said, destroyed its flavour, which he admitted to be excellent. Margary addressed him in Chinese, which so astonished him that he dropped for a moment the dignified air which he had been trying to keep up. He had no idea that there were any Europeans acquainted with this tongue. At first he replied volubly enough, but then the idea appeared to cross his mind that the Burmans might not like his communicating with us in this manner, so he excused himself on the plea that Margary spoke the Court language. The Imperial passport was then exhibited to him, but though he wears the brass button this did not appear to impress him much.

There being sixty-three Kakhyengs present we commenced to talk business. The result was that we are to be supplied with mules from here to Manwaing at the rate of 7½ tickals each, plus Customs dues at 5 tickals per load. This last item appeared to me to be exorbitant, and I informed them that though I should not object to pay a little more than a trader the sum demanded was preposterous. On this a Pawmaing remarked that when the Emperor of China or the King of Burma sent anything across their hills this rate was always paid, and they, the Kakhyengs, did not like to make invidious distinctions between their monarchs and the Queen of England. I replied I was willing to pay at the same rate as His Burman Majesty, and I should like to know what this rate was. None of the Burmans could or would give any information of this point, saying that all such arrangements were left to the King's agents at Manwaing. The point therefore was left for subsequent discussion.

It is agreed that all the Tsawbwas on our line of march are to come here on the twelfth instant, to take an

oath of fidelity, and we are to start immediately afterwards.

At the close of the conference the Tsa-re-daw-gyee announced to the Kakhyengs for the first time that he was going to accompany us with a force of 400 men. This may have dispelled visions of loot, and did not seem to please them.

I was not sorry when the long palaver was over, as Kakhyengs' society manners have a striking likeness to those of monkeys. We unfortunately had no insecticide, but luckily the doctor had some eau-de-cologne. I then had a conversation with one of the Chinese traders here. His concise description of the Kakhyengs is that they are "dogs." They are utterly untrustworthy. The merchants have to bribe them heavily to let their caravans pass, and it often happens that the men they bribe most heavily are the very men who loot them. Half the caravans this year have been attacked. Some hundred years ago, he said, the Emperor of China, tired of the complaints made, ordered that four of the savages should be buried alive under each of the gates of Momien. This was done, and the Kakhyeng nuisance was abated for many years. Since the Mohammedan rebellion they have commenced their old practices, and until the Emperor repeats his order the road will never be safe.

I have decided to let Elias alone explore and survey the Sawaddy route. The Tsawbwa there having invited Cooke to go to his village to inspect the document, which, he says, will show that the Burmans and not the Kakhyengs are responsible for our check on this line; the opportunity will be a good one for sending Elias with him. As he will travel without any valuable baggage to attract the cupidity of the Kakhyengs, he may get through and rejoin us at Momien or Yoonchang.

*February 8.*—I have a visit from the son of the Poonlien Tsawbwa, a boy of about fourteen. He has been in charge of the Won of Bhamo, who was instructed by the King to

endeavour to educate and civilize him. The Won deserves credit for the improvement he has effected in him. The boy is actually clean and reads a little. His sister is in the royal harem at Mandalay. He has returned to his father, but has now been called in to serve as a hostage for our safe passage. Another Tsawbwa, the Wonkaw man, comes in to-day. He is a trifle cleaner and more intelligent than the others. I paid him subsistence money for his followers, at the same rate as the others—viz., R. 1 per head. One of these men remarked that the Kakhyengs were a numerous people, and those off the line of march would probably be angry if they did not get the same as the others. I at once repudiated the idea of subventioning the whole of the nation, and said I should treat only with the chiefs along the road. These are numerous enough—fifteen of them between this and Manwaing, a distance of forty miles. The Wonkaw asked to see the Imperial passport, and this appeared to impress him more than it did the Poonlien man.

*February 9.*—A lot of Kakhyengs have been loafing about our encampment all day, peering curiously into everything and taking a mental inventory of all our belongings. We treated them to some shocks from a galvanic battery. The Poontsee Pawmaing proved to be a man of strong nerve, as he stood the strongest shocks without wincing.

I had a visit from Wong, a substantial and pleasant-looking Chinaman, who has resided here for many years. It is a pleasant change talking to a clean, polite, and intelligent Chinaman after several hours chatter with savages. He believes that Li-ssu (Li-tsee-ta-he), who is a strong man, will eventually be able to control the Kakhyengs. He has already, partly by bribes and partly by threats, made them quieter than they were. From him I learn that the amount of "Pouk-to" (this seems to be the Chinese word for blackmail adopted by the Burmese) paid to the Kakhyengs is three mace per mule-load. This is about one rupee, whilst the Kakhyengs wanted to make me pay Rs. 5.

I have not hitherto said anything here about the 1 per cent. transit duty on goods intended for China provided for by our treaty with Burma, but mentioned it now to Wong, who had never heard of it before. He said, however, that it would not be of much use at present, as, since the rebellion merchants with large capital do not exist in Yunan ; there is no one there who can send down more than twenty or thirty mule-loads at a time. When trade has revived, this treaty provision will be very useful. At present, in the absence of merchants, the officials are taking to trade, and to this the merchants do not object, as the fact of these bigwigs being interested in the safety of a caravan is an additional protection.

*February 10.*—The Tsaredawgyee informs me that when he conveyed the King's Embassy to China, the Ambassador presented each man of the guard with a red turban, the effect of which was to "make the hills blossom like a garden of flowers." This is a hint to me to do likewise ; and, as the poor Burmans suffer by our presence here, a tax of Rs. 2 per house having been levied to pay for our escort, I take the hint.

*February 11.*—We are favoured to-day by the visits of numerous specimens of the "fair" (?) sex, who have accompanied the Tsawbwas. They are as dirty and repulsive as their lords and masters. They bring presents of yams and "sheroo" (rice beer), and get in return glass beads and two-anna pieces. They are anxious to see and try the galvanic battery.

It appears that the Kakhyengs intend the "oath of fidelity ceremony" to be attended with the slaughter of bullocks and buffaloes. Against this I make a protest. Neither the Burmans or Chinese have given in to the Kakhyengs by adopting this custom, and I do not think that taking part in these rites adds to the dignity or prestige of British officers, especially when it is very repugnant to the Burmans to have these sacrifices performed on their territory. After all, the system appears to be but a cunning

device on the part of the Kakhyengs for getting a good meat dinner, and if they get money to buy pork with they will probably be just as well satisfied.

*February 12.*—The Won arrives and invites me to preside at a plenary conference with all the Kakhyeng Tsawbwass. They are asked whether they will guarantee the expedition when passing through their territory against all attacks. The answer was a unanimous "Yes." They will take every care of us provided we give them plenty of presents. I promise them presents on our safe arrival at Manwaing. An agreement to this effect was duly drawn up in Burmese and signed. As far as words go, nothing can be more satisfactory than the behaviour of the Kakhyengs on this route, but, as the Won remarks, "their words in the plains and their acts in the hills are often widely different." The Won has got the Poonlien's son as a hostage, and has demanded two others from Poontsee and Tsarai.

*February 13 and 14.*—I have to defend my money-bags against the insidious assaults of the Tsawbwass. They began by asking that the whole of the mule-hire should be paid in advance. Then they wanted half of it, and at last they would be satisfied with some presents which they might display when going through their hills. To all these proposals I turn a deaf ear, and consented only to give them Rs. 50 wherewith to make preparations for the oath of fidelity ceremony. They promise to pack to-morrow and start the day after.

The Chinamen here are getting quite cordial and communicative. They state they were suspicious about our intentions at first, as they thought we were of the same religion as, and allied to, the Panthays. These suspicions they find were unfounded. Believing us now to be well affected to the Imperial Government they will be pleased to aid us in opening out a trade route. But there will be no trade to speak of, they say, until the Kakhyeng nuisance is put down. They have hopes of this being done from

the Chinese side, but expect no assistance from the Burmans, who, they say, are an idle race and afraid of the savages. "Do not believe," one of them said, "that the Burmans really wish you to succeed. They will help you from fear of you, but they hope you will fail. They well know that if you and the big Chinamen put their heads together, they (the Burmans) will be pinched up as in a vice; they will encourage the savages to make exorbitant demands, but don't give in, or you will make matters worse for yourselves and for us too. Do not be too familiar with the Kakhyengs, or they will despise you and fleece you. Do the big man and they will be afraid of you. Do not give them too much money, or you will spoil our business."

Some Chinese just arrived report that the Shans at Manwaing have received orders from the Governor of Momien to prepare for our reception.

*February 15.*—The Kakhyengs killed their sacrificial animals this morning. This was to have been done in an out-of-the-way place in the jungle, but by a coincidence, which can hardly have been accidental, a buffalo, after having had its throat cut, made straight for our camp, and was there despatched. The first thing I saw in the morning was the carcass being cut up in front of the monastery, and the head decorating one of the veranda posts. I am very angry at such a wanton insult being offered to the religious feelings of the Burmese and Shans.

The Poontsee Pawmaing appears and asks if we are not ready to start at once. I know he has no intention of starting at once, and that the question is put simply to give them an excuse to claim demurrage, so I tell him we are quite ready and are only waiting for the mules, whereupon he disappears.

In the evening the Wonkaw and others appear, to receive the advance which was promised them. I requested that all who were entitled to any part of it should attend. For some occult reason this did not suit them, and it was said that one man, the Poonlien Tsawbwa, was empowered to



receive the whole. This appeared to be a fact, and, after a complete understanding that no further demands would be made upon me till we reached Manwaing, I paid the amount, Rs. 700. The expression of the hideous Poonlien's face, as he grabbed at the silver, was a study for a physiognomist. He reminded me of a tiger pouncing on his prey, and a Shylock reaching for his pound of flesh, if such an animal as a Shylock with the nasal development of a gibbon can be imagined.

February 16.—We were ready to start at daylight, but the morning was spent in combating some more wily attempts to extort money from me. The mule-men come in slowly, and leisurely arrange their loads. Having taken the whole of the baggage, they calmly assert that the payment of the whole of the mule-hire is a necessary preliminary to a start. I do not attempt to argue, but shrug my shoulders and smile at the preposterous demand. When a Kakhyeng enters into a solemn engagement one day and breaks it the next, I find it is useless to remind him of his promise. That only infuriates him. The policy of *vis inertiae* and unlimited patience is the best.

A characteristic incident showing the Kakhyengs' ideas about meum and tuum occurred to-day. Their pack-saddles are furnished with straps for securing the loads, but they discovered that we had a supply of rope with us, whereupon the straps disappeared and I was called upon to furnish rope. This vanished with marvellous rapidity, and I detected a roll of it hidden in a Kakhyeng's bag. Restitution being called for, the thief and his companions were highly indignant at his being deprived of the fruits of his industry. According to their code, the man who had been clever enough to transfer the rope from my basket to his bag was the lawful possessor, and I who tried to recover my property was the wrongdoer.

The Chinamen of the place are highly interested spectators of the struggles between myself and the Kakhyengs, and they applaud my tenacity. Justice and liberality, one

remarked, have an effect on these savages, exactly the reverse of that which they have on ordinary human beings. The possessor of these qualities, instead of being admired, is despised by them.

A rumour that the Poonlien has appropriated all the money I advanced him yesterday causes great excitement, so I force this Tsawbwa to come forward and make an equitable distribution on the spot.

Then it was declared that not only had the whole of the subsistence money which I had given been expended, but the mule-men had been obliged to contract debts in the village. The idea of any of these savages having been able to procure anything on credit in a Burman village was so absurdly improbable that the Tsaredawgyee settled this matter by promising to pay all such debts himself.

Then objections were made as to the size of some of our boxes, but on my stating that any such boxes I would leave behind, the objections were withdrawn.

The last cause of delay was that Poontsee had cheated Wonkaw by getting hold of more mule-loads than he had a right to. A vigorous fight of words and offensive gestures followed. Poontsee drew his sword, upon which the "Khyoung Oke," a very vigorous and useful Burmese officer, went at him and compelled him to sheathe his weapon and subside into silence.

At 4 p.m., or ten hours after we were ready to start, the Kakhyengs got under way, and we encamped for the night at the village of Tsehet at the foot of the hills. The Burmese escort squatted round the camp to prevent pilfering, and kept watch very well all night.

*February 17.*—The mule-men would not stir before 8 a.m. Immediately after leaving the village we commenced to ascend, and in an hour and a half we reached the first of the Burman guard-houses which have been established on this line. In another hour, after passing a second guard-house, we mount a ridge from which a splendid view is

obtained, and at noon we reach Poonlien's village and pass in front of his house. His wife, a fat, elderly woman, almost as repulsive a creature as the Tsawbwa himself, comes out to meet us. I give her some beads and silver pieces, after which she brings out some "sheroo," for which she demands payment, though the presents I had given her were fifty times the value of the beer.

At 1 p.m. we reached the fourth guard-house where we encamped, having come about fourteen miles. There were no great difficulties on the road anywhere. The highest point reached was 2,300 feet above sea-level.

The Wonkaw Tsawbwa has been at my side all day, singing his own praises and abusing Poonlien. It is satisfactory to find that jealousy exists among these Tsawbwaws. It is an additional security for us. The arrangements made to prevent desertion on the part of the mule-men have been effective. At each cross-road a Burman and a Kakhyeng sentry were posted to prevent the wrong road being taken.

The Tsaredawgyee, coming back from a visit to the Wonkaw's house, asks me not to start early to-morrow morning because the Wonkaw's wife wishes to pay us a visit. Mounng Yo afterwards suggests that the real reason for this request is that two unknown Kakhyengs have passed and spread a report that there will be difficulties for us on the road beyond Tsarai, and that the Burmans are greatly alarmed about this rumour.

*February 18.*—The Wonkaw's wife does not pay the promised visit, but the Tsaredawgyee appears and reports that certain Chinese and Shan robbers, whose rapacity has been excited by hearing of our valuable caravan, intend to attack us on the debatable ground between Tsarai and Manwaing. I surprise him by telling him that this rumour had already reached my ears, but I had not placed much reliance upon it. I suggested that as the threatened danger is beyond Tsarai, and as we are still some distance from that place, we should move on to it, as we should then

be in a better position to ascertain the truth. I further suggested that our fifteen Sikhs and his brave army of Burmans would be more than a match for any band of Chinese dacoits, and that the Chinese officials would certainly assist us. The Burmese officers present sided with me, and answered by approving shouts and gestures of defiance to an imaginary enemy.

"Yes," they said, "let them come. Where are the Chinese who would venture to face the soldiers of His Most Excellent Majesty, the Lord of the White Elephant? Let us advance and annihilate them."

But the more cautious Tsaredawgyee remarked that, although he thought there was not much danger to be feared, he had been ordered by His Majesty to "conduct us smoothly and pleasantly to the frontier," and if His Majesty heard that from any want of caution we had fallen in with bad men, he, the Tsaredawgyee would be disgraced. It was finally agreed that we should move on a couple of miles to the fifth Burman guard-house, and from thence send forward a small party to see if the road was clear.

This last guard-house we found on the bank of the Namhpoung River, which is here a rapid stream of clear sparkling water, fordable in most places, but with deep pools in others, running through a valley only a few hundred yards broad. This river may be considered to be the boundary between Burma and China, though the Burmese claim authority right up to Manwaing, and the Chinese, they say, have in an indirect way repeatedly acknowledged this claim; for when a Chinese official comes to Bhamo, he is invariably taken charge of by a Burmese Guard at Manwaing, just as Margary was.

As soon as we had encamped, two Tsawbwaws with a numerous following appear on the hills opposite, beating gongs and firing muskets. Our Sikhs, thinking this was a hostile demonstration, ran to their arms, but it turned out to be only a friendly salute.

All the Kakhyengs, except the Wonkaw, deride the

fears of the Burmans, and want to go on at once, as they are afraid of their rice running short. No provisions of any kind are obtainable in these hills. As the Kakhyengs live mainly on what they steal, and as when travellers are not abundant they rob one another, they do not grow enough grain for their own consumption, and what grain they have is never husked until the day on which it is to be cooked, in order to lessen the risk of its being stolen. To prevent the mule-men making their want of provisions an excuse for running away, I supply them with rice from our stores.

A Burman informs the Tsaredawgyee that he has just arrived from Manwaing, where he was informed by the King's cotton agents that Li-ssu is in league with the Tsarai Tsawbwa to prevent our entering China. I happened to meet this man on the road before he had seen the Tsaredawgyee, and was informed by him that all was well at Manwaing. Which of these two statements is false?

Margary, who met Li at Nanteng, and was so cordially received by him, utterly discredits this man's story, and wishes to go on at once to find out what is going on.

Moung Yo, Li's relative, derides the idea of Li, the faithful Chinese officer, opposing anyone who is travelling, as we are, under the protection of the Emperor's passport.

*(To be continued.)*

## THE RURAL INDUSTRIES OF JAPAN.

BY J. ELLIS BARKER.

THE British nation is a nation of town-dwellers. It subsists chiefly on foreign food, and the food products raised in this country suffice to nourish only some ten million of people. Our dependence on foreign wheat, butter, cheese, eggs, meat, sugar, vegetables, fruit, etc., is complete, and has come to be considered as inevitable. In fact, we have so often been told that this country is too small and too densely populated to nourish its inhabitants with the produce of its soil that our statesmen, our political economists, and the majority of intelligent citizens look upon our dependence on foreign countries for the food we eat with complacency, and consider it as a matter of course. They see in this dependence a state of affairs which may perhaps be regrettable, inasmuch as it increases our vulnerability in case of war, and makes our population the prey of unscrupulous foreign speculators in food-stuffs, but which, all the same, cannot be helped. However, if this country were peopled by Japanese, it would be found self-sufficing, not for ten millions, but for more than a hundred million people. This assertion seems so startling and is so opposed to generally accepted ideas that it appears worth while to investigate how it is that the Japanese possess in their narrow islands such a wonderfully flourishing agriculture. Such an investigation may teach not a few valuable lessons to this country and its agriculturists.

The area of Japan is by about one-sixth larger than that of the United Kingdom, and the population of the island empire is by about one-tenth greater than is that of this country. Therefore it would appear at first sight that Great Britain and Japan are, as regards size and population, very similarly situated for the pursuit of agriculture.

In reality, however, the difference between the two countries is very great, and is as regards the successful pursuit of agriculture greatly in favour of this country. Owing to the mountainous nature of the ground and the natural barrenness of the soil, only about one-sixth of Japan, or an area smaller than that of Ireland, is cultivated, whilst three-fifths of Great Britain—namely, almost 48,000,000 acres out of a total of 77,681,644 acres are described as cultivated in our agricultural returns. As Japan raises on her cultivated area food sufficing for more than 40,000,000 people, Great Britain, the cultivated area of which is three times larger than that of Japan, should theoretically be able to raise on her soil food for at least 100,000,000 people, especially as climatic and meteorological conditions in this country are, on the whole, far more favourable to agriculture than they are in Japan.

The chief reason why the Japanese are able to raise more than ten times more food on a piece of ground than Englishmen seem able to produce lies in their industry, their frugality, their progressiveness, their application of science to the rural industries, their co-operation, and last, but not by any means least, in the wise and far-seeing protection and encouragement which are given by an energetic and able Government that is singularly free from fads and fancies, and possesses an open and intelligent mind, together with habits of business.

Japanese agriculture labours not only under the greatest natural disadvantages, such as the ruggedness and natural sterility of much of the arable soil which is usually found in volcanic countries, the limited extent of the arable land, the inclemency of the Japanese climate, the frequency of natural calamities, such as earthquakes, floods, etc., but also under great disadvantages of a different kind. There are about 4,800,000 families, or approximately 28,000,000 people engaged in farming in Japan, and most families till their own soil, agricultural land being almost exclusively freehold land. Farms are consequently exceedingly small.

The average holding of a farmer consists of two and a quarter acres of land or a little more than is contained in a square piece of ground of which each side is 100 yards long. Farms containing ten acres are exceedingly rare, and farming on horseback is unknown in Japan. The average Japanese farm is therefore no bigger than a very small suburban field is in England. But unfortunately the property of the Japanese farmer is not only exceedingly small, but is besides very much subdivided and scattered about hills and dales. Through the broken nature of the ground, and through frequent splitting, caused by inheritance and consequent division among children, etc., fields have gradually become exceedingly small and awkwardly shaped. The average size of a Japanese field is, according to official statistics, only about one-twentieth of an acre, or almost exactly half the size of a lawn-tennis-court, and the fields are frequently very far away from the farmer's dwelling-house. Consequently, farm-work is exceedingly laborious, many journeys to and fro from field to field have daily to be undertaken, the drainage and irrigation of the tiny, irregularly-shaped patches is difficult and costly, and the numerous footpaths which are necessary encroach severely upon the cultivable ground.

Therefore the Government resolved to come to the assistance of the farmer, and brought out a law for the adjustment of farm-lands, which came in force in January, 1900, and which has already led to numerous rearrangements of fields. The authorities encourage and assist, under the provisions of this law, exchanges of land between various owners with the object of enabling the farmers, by exchange and concession, and money payment where necessary, to acquire from their neighbours fields adjacent to their own, and thus gradually to obtain one compact field for their numerous scattered tiny plots.

Excellent progress has already been made in this direction, and in consequence of the rounding-off which has taken place, much unnecessary labour by going and carry-



ing to and fro is saved, much waste of time is avoided, farm animals and labour-saving machinery which were unusable on the small fields can more easily be employed, and farm-work is considerably expedited and facilitated. Many paths have been straightened, and others have become unnecessary and have been turned into fields, and in many instances the producing power of the land thus treated has been increased by five per cent. Drainage and irrigation, which in Japan are particularly necessary owing to the nature of the ground and of the crops, can now be brought to a state of greater perfection with larger and more regularly-shaped fields, and the extension of the movement for bringing together the scattered plots is bound to increase considerably the productive power of agricultural Japan for many years to come.

The Japanese Government also reclaims year after year large stretches of land which were hitherto considered to be waste land. How energetically the Government proceeds in this respect may be seen from the following progressive figures :

AREA RECLAIMED FOR AGRICULTURE.

			Cho.*
1893	...	...	8,691
1895	...	...	15,677
1897	...	...	24,697
1899	...	...	37,002
1901	...	...	35,924

A farmer's family consists on an average of 5·8 members, and possesses on an average  $2\frac{1}{4}$  acres, or a little less than one cho. Therefore the Government reclaims now in every year enough land to give a living to about 40,000 farming families, or to more than 200,000 people, and herein lies to a large extent the reason why, in spite of the density and the rapid increase of the population of Japan, the emigration from that country is exceedingly small. Thus the Japanese Government is steadily extend-

\* One cho = 2·45 acres.

ing the arable area of the country by judicious rearrangement of holdings and by reclamation of barren lands.

How considerably the area planted with the most important crops has of late been expanding may be seen from the following figures :

AREA UNDER STAPLE CROPS.

			Rice. Cho.	Wheat, Rye, and Barley. Cho.	Soja Beans. Cho.	Sweet Potatoes, Cho.
1892	...	...	2,760,662	1,739,000	435,852 *	238,943 *
1897	...	...	2,787,181	1,749,000	435,605	259,167
1902	...	...	2,847,395	1,804,000	466,149	276,971

A glance at the foregoing figures shows that during the last ten, and especially during the last five, years, the increase in the acreage of the most important crops has been very rapid and satisfactory.

For the successful pursuit of agriculture, money for buying implements, machinery, fodder, fertilizers, etc., and for making the necessary improvements, is almost as necessary as are land and labour. But the capital of the Japanese farmers, both invested and liquid, stands, by its smallness, in proportion to the smallness of the holdings. According to the latest statistics available, the value of the arable land of Japan is estimated at £700,000,000, or £145 17s. per family. Agricultural land is, therefore, apparently far more expensive in Japan than it is in Great Britain. The value of farm buildings, dwellings, outhouses, etc., is computed at £29,000,000, or at £6 10s. per family, and the value of the farming implements, tools, machinery, etc., is estimated at £8,250,000, or at £1 14s. per farm. The farmer whose house, sheds, implements, etc., represent a combined value of but £7 15s., whose fields extend only to  $2\frac{1}{4}$  acres, and who has to pay the enormous sum of about £60 per acre for his land, labours, of course, under the greatest difficulties if he has to find the money required for even the cheapest

\* Figures for 1894.

implements, the most modest improvements, and the lowest priced manure. However, modern agriculture requires the application of much capital. Therefore the Government resolved to supply State assistance where assistance was needed, and to organize and encourage co-operation among the cultivators for supplying their financial needs. With this object in view the Government established after the Chinese-Japanese War the Hypothec Bank of Japan.

This Bank has a capital of 10,000,000 yen, and it is allowed to issue mortgage bonds. Its turnover has grown from 24,885,165 yen in 1897 to 68,214,348 yen in 1902. Loans are mainly of two classes—those which are repayable within thirty years, and those which are repayable within five years. The business of this bank is restricted to loans of large amounts required for works of general utility which indirectly benefit the farmer. It serves besides as a main reservoir of agricultural credit to forty-six local agricultural banks which also were created when the Hypothec Bank was established. Therefore, it acts as a banker to those provincial institutions which look after the credit requirements of the Japanese prefectures. These local organizations find the necessary capital for reclaiming, draining, and irrigating land, constructing and improving roads of importance to agriculture, assisting the settlement of families on newly reclaimed ground, purchasing seeds, young plants, manure, implements, machinery, boats, waggons, cattle, horses, etc. Besides, they advance money for constructing and repairing buildings used in agriculture, for making improvements of various kinds, adjusting farm-lands and fields, etc.

However, even these local agriculture banks proved, as was only natural, too large to deal satisfactorily with the tiny credit requirements of the individual farmers throughout the rural districts. Hence these banks advance their money to the cultivators of the soil, not by dealing directly with them, but by lending money through local public bodies and through local co-operative societies

which serve at the same time as agents and as guarantors. Thus money is not only wisely lent, but is advanced on good security as well. These banks lend out their funds also on joint application, of no less than twenty persons, "who are considered thoroughly trustworthy, and who are engaged in agriculture or manufacture." Evidently, care is taken that agricultural credit is given with due regard to the merits of each individual case, and *bonâ fide* borrowers have no difficulty in obtaining funds even if there is no co-operative society near. Numerous co-operative societies for obtaining funds from these banks and for distributing them to the poorer peasants exist everywhere throughout the country, and these tiny and thoroughly democratic organizations have proved a great blessing to the poor cultivators; for credit guilds, as they are called, secure advances at the, for agricultural Japan, very low rate of 10 per cent., whereas the rural usurer used to extort 30 and 40 per cent., and more, exactly as he does in India.

In view of the smallness of the means which are possessed by the Japanese farmers, their co-operation was a necessity, and already in the distant past co-operative societies of a somewhat crude kind existed in Japan. When Japan became opened up to the countries of the West, and the spirit of unification and progress was abroad in politics, the benefit of unity and progress in agriculture became quickly recognised, and, in the year 1889, a special law for encouraging the formation of co-operative societies and for giving them financial State aid, was promulgated. In 1903 there were in existence 46 agricultural prefectural societies, 561 districtal societies, and over 10,000 local societies. As there are only 13,060 villages in Japan, the majority of these have an agricultural society of their own.

The organization of these agricultural societies seems to be well devised, and to be not unlike the organizations of the credit societies described in the foregoing. It is modelled on the centralized political organization of the

country, which gives the fullest scope to individual energy. The principal societies, which serve as local centres, are subventioned and supervised by the State, and they assist the individual agriculturists through the small local organizations which act as their agents.

During 1903 the 46 prefectural societies spent 511,021 yen, to which the State contributed 148,496 yen. Japanese State subventions are, as a rule, small if compared with the voluntary contributions to which they are added. Thus the State gives help without extinguishing the initiative of the individual. It offers a money prize for encouragement, but it does not put a premium on indolence. It assists the individual, but neither makes him an exploiter of the State, nor does it convert him into a helpless pauperized being that is ever relying on the State and clamouring for State help, as is the case in so many countries where State help is somewhat indiscriminately given, and where the man who receives State help is so often either a fool or a knave.

The Japanese Government does not rest satisfied with increasing and improving the arable land, providing the farmer with cheap capital and securing for him the benefits of co-operation for obtaining credit, selling his produce, buying his cattle, machinery, manure, etc., but it elevates agriculture above the level of slavish drudgery by making science the handmaid of agriculture. Apart from agricultural schools, there are at present no less than thirty-eight agricultural experiment stations spread throughout Japan, which have gradually been established, partly by the State, partly by the local authorities with the assistance of the State, for the Government knew how to rouse a keen competition among the principal prefectures for founding such stations.

The mother-station is situated at Nishigahara, near Tokio, and is a large and well-found institution. It is divided into nine departments, which attend to the following subjects: cultivation of crops, selection of different

varieties of crops, rearing and breeding of agricultural plants, researches in vegetable physiology, researches into the relation between crops and climate, soil and manure, examination of seeds and plants, study of farm implements and soils, and amelioration of soil, distribution of seeds and seed plants. The chemical department makes chemical investigations of crops and farm products, experiments on manure, and on micro-organisms present in soils and manures. It studies agricultural technology, examines soils and the crops usable for them, investigates and surveys mineral fertilizers which are found in Japan, and makes researches as to the productive powers of various kinds of soil. The entomological section classifies and studies the life-history of injurious and useful insects and their geographical distribution, the treatment of insect pests, and the utilization of useful insects. The section of vegetable pathology deals with prophylactics and therapeutics of plant diseases caused by fungi and bacteria, with the application of pathogenic fungi and bacteria for the destruction of injurious insects, and examines and experiments with parasiticides. The tobacco section studies the selection and cultivation of tobacco, and the relation between the quality of tobacco to climate, soils, fertilizers, etc., and investigates the curing, fermentation, and preservation of tobacco leaf and its manufacture. The horticultural section is occupied with the selection, propagation, and cultivation of fruits and vegetables, the cross-breeding of horticultural plants, the harvesting and preservation of fruits and vegetables, the forcing of horticultural plants, and the distribution of seeds and seed-plants. The department for stock-breeding makes researches with regard to natural and cultivated fodder plants, the feeding and management of domestic animals, zodotechnics, and the distribution of seeds of fodder plants. The section of reports and of general affairs publishes the results of the experiments and investigations made by the Imperial Agricultural Experiment Station, its branches, and the

prefectural stations in a series of practical essays of which several hundred have been published for the information of the farmers.

Besides these experiment stations, which receive some imperial and some local financial assistance, there are 40 prefectural experimental farms throughout the country maintained mainly at local expense. Their object is purely practical. The local authorities assist them with about 400,000 yen per annum, and the State contributes a sum not exceeding 150,000 yen a year. There are also about 110 small sub-prefectural model farms which serve a similar purpose.

By means of these numerous institutions science is made subservient to agriculture, and cultivators in need of expert advice know where to obtain it. From these institutions the peasants receive from time to time selected seeds gratis, more than 10,000 samples being thus distributed every year. As the 200 organizations existing are not numerous enough for the requirements of rural Japan, some 300 ambulant lecturers on agriculture are constantly travelling through the country. They do not give professorial lectures to rustic audiences, being only stared at, but not understood, by the bewildered peasants, as so often happens in countries where the professor is so very prominent. They are thoroughly practical men, who have been trained at experimental farms, who are able to answer all inquiries on practical subjects addressed to them by the farmers, and who do not bring with them the atmosphere of the study, the laboratory, or the class-room.

The foregoing shows how the Japanese Government achieves very remarkable results at a trifling cost to the State, but the efforts of the Government would be unavailing if the whole country did not act like one large family. In Japan the Government trust the people and the people trust the Government, and every man tries to do his best for his country.

That the wise agricultural policy of Japan has been a

signal success is shown by the subjoined table which gives the product of the principal food crops :

		Rice. Koku.*	Wheat, Rye, and Barley. Koku.	Soja Beans. Koku.	Sweet Potatoes. Kwan.†
1886	...	37,191,424	16,033,960	—	—
1889	...	33,007,566	15,316,897	—	—
1892	...	41,429,676	15,951,146	3,110,665	568,371,606
1895	...	39,960,798	19,537,840	3,163,683	711,813,132
1898	...	47,387,666	20,462,053	3,108,708	716,956,146
1901	...	46,914,943	20,521,950	4,069,619	711,639,519

From the foregoing figures it appears that the production of the principal food-stuffs in Japan has, during the last fifteen years, most satisfactorily increased ; but the full extent of the progress which the rural industries of Japan have achieved can only be seen when we investigate those rural products which have not been considered in the foregoing.

The expansion of the rural industries of Japan will very likely continue for a long time, especially as better implements are gradually being introduced into the country districts. With the weak instruments hitherto used the Japanese have been able only to scratch the surface, and whilst much of the surface soil has been exhausted, the subsoil has, in many parts, been left practically untouched. With the introduction of more powerful instruments the productiveness of the Japanese soil should be very considerably increased.

The agriculture of Japan not only gives food to the people but furnishes also the raw material for Japan's most important export products—the cocoons from which Japanese silk is won ; for about 40 per cent. of Japan's exports consist of silk and silken products. How wonderfully the Japanese silk exports have increased, especially since 1885, for reasons which will be explained hereafter, may be seen from the following table, which does not supply figures for the entire export of silken goods :

\* One koku = 4.96 bushels.

† One kwan = 8.27 pounds.



EXPORTS OF RAW SILK.			EXPORTS OF SILKEN TISSUES.	
		Yen.		Yen.
1870	...	4,278,752		—
1880	...	8,606,867		—
1885	...	13,033,872		—
1890	...	13,859,339*		818,537
1900	...	44,657,029		17,436,381
1903	...	74,428,907		27,510,478

Had it not been for her prosperous and powerful silk industry, Japan would not have been able to introduce European culture into the country regardless of expense. Therefore, it may be said that her silkworm-raising peasants have provided Japan with railways, telegraphs, machinery, her splendid army and navy, and the sinews of war.

The silk industry of Japan is of great antiquity, and has been fostered by the State for more than fifteen centuries. In Japan, as in China, the production of silk was based, not on scientific investigation and experiment, but on observation, ancient custom, tradition, experience, and the rule of thumb. Still, the results were on the whole gratifying, owing to the exceedingly careful attention which the peasants bestowed upon their work. During the classic period of Japan, Prince Shotoku, who lived from 573 to 672, had taught sericulturists that they should rear the silkworms as parents nurse their infants, that they should think of them as their own children, that they should carefully heat the rooms in which the worms were kept, and that they should see that the temperature was neither too high nor too low, that they should attend to good ventilation, and that they should lavish the utmost care upon the worms both night and day. These were the principles by which the sericulturists were guided until a recent date. Not many years ago the use of the thermometer in silkworm raising was practically unknown.

\* Exceptionally bad year.

The opening of Japan to foreign trade led, unfortunately, to a rapid degeneration of the Japanese silk industry. As a considerable demand for Japanese silk sprang up, exporters and producers alike were chiefly bent on obtaining the largest possible quantities of silk as rapidly as possible; hence the material sent away became more and more shoddy from year to year. At the same time the same epidemic disease of silkworms, which had so terribly injured the silk-raising industry of France and Italy, and which in those countries had successfully been combated by the discoveries of Pasteur, made its appearance and began to ravish Japan. Therefore the Government established in 1884 the Silkworm Disease Laboratory in Tokio, and took vigorous steps to stop the degeneration in the quality of the silk produced which threatened to kill the silk industry by ruining its reputation abroad. Silk guilds were formed throughout the country at the instigation of the Government, and, in consequence of the law of 1885, they acted as unpaid agents to the Government; and through these guilds regulations were enforced which saved the industry from decay, and proved the greatest blessing, for only since then has the Japanese silk industry become of paramount importance in the world, as may be seen from the foregoing figures.

The immense importance of the silk industry to Japan is evident from the fact that 2,548,228 families are engaged in silkworm raising—a number which equals 53 per cent. of the whole agricultural population. Silkworm raising is not a separate industry. It is an occupation which is pursued by the Japanese farmers much in the same way in which the farmers of Europe raise poultry, and in Japan, as in Europe, this subsidiary occupation largely devolves on the womenfolk and the children on the various farms. How vigorously the silkworm-raising industry has progressed during the last decade may be seen from the following figures:

## AREA UNDER MULBERRY-TREES. COCOONS GATHERED.

		Cho.*	Koku.†
1892	...	231,401	1,480,705
1902	...	317,146	2,549,224
Increase	...	+ 37·3 per cent.	+ 72·3 per cent.

Whilst the number of mulberry-trees has, during the last ten years, increased by 37·3 per cent., the quantity of cocoons gathered has grown much more rapidly—namely, by 72·3 per cent., or almost twice as quickly. During ten years the cocoons produced per tree have increased from 6·4 koku to 8 koku—an increase of exactly 25 per cent. This splendid result has been achieved through the thorough and scientific methods in silkworm raising which have of late been introduced. This gratifying result is to some extent due to the breeding of silkworms in artificial heat, for the autumn crop has grown from 104,404 koku in 1892 to 414,516 koku in 1902, or has almost quadrupled, whilst the whole crop has only grown by 72·3 per cent.

The farmer, and especially the farmer in the Far East, is by nature conservative, and opposed to all innovation, but the Japanese Government knew how to introduce science into the humblest farms. The Silkworm Disease Laboratory, which had been established in 1884, made exhaustive studies of the treatment of the various diseases to which silkworms are subject, and made the farmers acquainted with the results of its investigations through a number of pamphlets which were distributed free of charge. At the same time, a large number of students were trained by the Laboratory to act as sericulture experts, especially with regard to silkworm diseases, and these men were sent through the silk-producing districts for the purpose of instructing the farmers and of helping those who required help. Besides, the Laboratory distributed eggs of those varieties of silkworms which were the hardiest and the most prolific. Therefore the farmer soon learnt to treat

\* One cho = 2·45 acres.

† One koku = 4·96 bushels.

the emissaries of the Silkworm Disease Laboratory no longer with suspicion, but with respect. During 1901 the cost of inspecting silkworm eggs amounted to 321,403 yen, to which the Government contributed 99,496 yen. Here again, we see that the Japanese Government helps on principle only those who help themselves, that it acts as a partner, but by no means as a sleeping partner, and that it affords financial help only under the same conditions under which Mr. Carnegie gives money for free public libraries.

When the pioneer establishment had proved its national utility, two sericultural schools were opened in 1896, where scientific and practical courses extending over two years are given, whilst the purely practical part of sericulture can be studied in separate courses which require only five months' attendance. These schools are very popular, and train a considerable number of experts. As soon as the beneficial effect of these institutions came to be widely felt, the local authorities in the silk-producing districts and many munificent individuals interested in the silk industry hastened to create similar establishments throughout the country. Local sericultural schools and laboratories have, therefore, sprung up like mushrooms, and there are now no less than 125 of these institutions in existence.

When the export of Japanese silk had grown to considerable proportions, the Government resolved in 1894 to open an institution for the protection of the foreign silk buyers, who hitherto were frequently defrauded by unscrupulous sellers and middlemen. This institution was founded for the purpose of examining the weight of silk submitted to it and its condition as to elasticity and tenacity, the uniformity in texture of the thread, its chemical qualities, the number of breakages, etc. This establishment, which is called the State Silk-Conditioning House, has proved an immense boon to Japan, and the number of examinations made by it has increased from

1,236 in 1896 to 11,189 in 1900, and to no less than 67,665 in 1902. Thus the Japanese Government has developed the native silk industry very considerably by looking as carefully after the interest of the foreign buyer as it looks after the welfare of the native grower. By making the interest of the foreign silk purchaser its own, the Japanese Government has given the greatest stimulus to its rural industries at trifling expense.

Whilst the staple food crops of Japan are increasing at a very satisfactory rate, and whilst the most important silk industry is progressing by leaps and bounds, the production of tea, of which a considerable quantity is exported, has fallen off to some extent during the last few years owing to the competition of cheap teas from India and Ceylon. But the Government is taking energetic measures to assist the native tea industry in the same manner in which it has fostered the silk industry. Whether it will succeed in its endeavours, remains to be seen, for the peculiar flavour of Japanese tea is disliked by many. However, it will be interesting to watch the activity of the Government during the next few years.

Various minor agricultural products, which have proved unsuitable for cultivation in Japan, notably cotton and indigo, are rapidly losing ground. The fibre of the former is too short, and the cultivation of the latter is decreasing fast, chiefly in consequence of the competition of the chemical indigo made in Germany, which is also crippling the indigo industry of India.

The culture of fruit is rapidly expanding. Formerly trees were grown in Japan chiefly for their flowers, but through contact with Western nations, Japan has learned to appreciate fruit. After having been an importer of fruit, Japan has now become not only a large grower of fruit for home requirements, but has turned an exporter, and large quantities of fruit, especially apples, are now exported every year to the United States and Siberia. Horticulture is being scientifically pursued with the assist-

ance of Experimental Gardens, which the Government has established for the purpose of selecting and cultivating indigenous and foreign fruit and vegetables, selecting and testing seeds and saplings, studying the preserving and curing of fruit, effecting the distribution of seeds to the growers, etc. This establishment has, as is usual in Japan, been copied by the local authorities, as soon as its value was recognised, and it is expected that the beneficial effect of these institutions which now exist in many parts of the country will soon become noticeable, for there is a large scope for horticulture in Japan.

Rural Japan labours under the great disadvantage that the country possesses an exceedingly small number of horses and cattle. Consequently, there is a sensible lack of stable manure in Japan, and much rural labour which in Europe is done by horses, has to be done by men in Japan. The cattle in Japan number only 1,275,382, or about one-tenth of the cattle kept in the United Kingdom. Consequently, the Japanese farmer has to rely mainly on vegetable manure, fish manure, and chemical manure, for enriching his fields. He has to buy the manure which the European farmer gets gratis from his live-stock. Happily, the enormous fisheries of Japan supply vast quantities of fish manure. Vegetable manure in the shape of bean cakes, etc., is largely imported from China, and large quantities of chemical manure are manufactured in Japan and are imported from abroad. As the manufactures of fertilizers started to palm off worthless substitutes on Japanese farmers, an experience through which European agriculturists also have gone, the Government resolved to control the manufacture and sale of fertilizers, and not to allow the most important industry of the country to become the prey of unscrupulous manufacturers and middlemen. Since December 1901 manufacturers and dealers of fertilizers have to submit samples of their goods for analysis to the Government, and to furnish guarantees as to their composition and uniformity. The Government appointed

116 inspectors of fertilizers, and 20 chemists on the State experimental farms were told off to analyze manures.

The Japanese Government is alive to the necessity not only of increasing the number of cattle and horses, but also of improving the breed, for cattle as well as horses were of very poor quality. Owing to the large hold which Buddhism had taken upon Japan, meat was formerly only consumed by outcasts. Hence the strongest stimulus for improving the breed of cattle was missing. Both cattle and horses were chiefly used as beasts of burden, and waggons and carts drawn by cattle or horses were practically unknown in Japan. The exceedingly tiny size of the fields also did hardly allow of using animals for pulling the plough, etc. As individuals interested in agriculture and local bodies as well were too inexperienced and hardly able to undertake the national task of improving the breed of horses and cattle, an Imperial Cattle-Breeding Farm and extensive horse studs were opened by the Government. Under the guidance of the best experts, a large number of carefully-selected animals were bought in the United States and Europe and brought over to Japan for breeding purposes, and at the same time measures were taken to prevent those bulls and stallions which did not come up to the standard from further propagating an inferior race of animals. Since 1901 all stallions which are not approved of by Government inspectors must be castrated at the expense of the Government.

Though cattle and horses have so far increased but slightly in number, their type has been considerably improved. Between 1897 and 1901 the number of breeding bulls above the standard has increased from 449 to 1,022, and that of the breeding stallions of the best type has increased from 3,271 to 3,967. During the same time the number of bulls below the standard has remained almost stationary, whilst that of breeding stallions has decreased by about 50 per cent. The number of cattle and horses possessed by Japan will probably remain almost

stationary until the misfits have been weeded out, but very soon an increase in the number of animals kept, and a great and general improvement in their type, should become noticeable. During the last ten years the consumption of meat in Japan has enormously increased, and the demand for meat will no doubt provide an additional incentive to the farmer for improving the type of the cattle, whilst the rearrangements in holdings which are taking place will enable farmers to utilize horses in agriculture.

Rinderpest, anthrax, glanders, foot and mouth disease, etc., had at various times inflicted huge losses upon Japan. In order to stamp out these diseases, the Government proceeded in its usual fashion by opening an Animal Diseases Laboratory for the scientific study of these diseases, and began to train a very large number of veterinary surgeons, who took the place of practitioners who might perhaps more fitly be described as animal witch-doctors. As the animals which carried the infection into Japan came usually from Korea, the Government opened offices for the inspection of animals at Kobe and Nagasaki which have had the most gratifying success; for we read in an official report:

"Since the establishment of the inspection offices, it was only once at Nagasaki, and that time through the negligence of a foreign steamer, that the country suffered from the introduction of afflicted beasts, the entry of such having been stopped in all other cases."

A law for the prevention of tuberculosis in cattle was promulgated in 1903, and it is hoped that that disease, which at present is very frequently found in slaughtered cattle, will soon be stamped out. At present 200 men are being trained in bacteriology, post-mortem examination, dissection and examination of milk, flesh, etc., to fight this disease. Evidently Japan is thorough and up-to-date.

Agriculture is, and will probably for a long time remain, Japan's most important industry, notwithstanding



the marvellous progress which the manufacturing industries have made in that country, which have excited the astonishment of the world. European observers have so far been chiefly attracted by the meteoric development of the manufacturing industries of Japan, and have therefore overlooked the quiet, but very great, progress which has taken place in her rural industries. Japan is wise enough not to neglect one industry for another. She strives to develop all her resources, rightly believing that the economic stability, strength, and prosperity of the country is best secured if it possesses a multiplicity and a great variety of industries. Therefore she tries to develop her elementary industries, notwithstanding the great success which she has achieved in manufacturing, and she will certainly not allow agriculture to decay. In that respect she is determined not to imitate Great Britain, notwithstanding her great admiration for this country.

Though the rural districts of Japan are suffering here and there, agriculture as a whole is flourishing and prosperous in Japan, notwithstanding the enormous difficulties with which that country is beset. Japanese agriculture had to be carried on in a style which can only be described as microscopic, artificial irrigation was necessary for the larger part of the crops, the implements used were feeble and one might almost say futile, the country had practically no horses and cattle, all labour had to be done by hand, and transport was effected by men. Animal manure was very scanty and was only used in certain parts of Japan, scientific farming was unknown, everything had to be created, everything had to be taught. But in spite of these enormous difficulties, which might have proved too great for a rich nation, Japan has succeeded owing to her energy and her exertions in reforming her rural industries root and branch, and placing them on the most scientific basis notwithstanding her very slender means. That she has succeeded in developing her rural industries in the way she has done should not only be a

cause for admiration. People in this country who have despaired of British agriculture, and who have declared that Great Britain could not successfully carry on her rural industries because this country was too small and too densely populated to nourish its inhabitants, and that therefore our dependence on foreign countries for our food was inevitable, should ponder over Japan's example and learn from it.

## OPHIR.\*

By J. F. A. McNAIR, MAJOR R.A., C.M.G.,

Late Officiating Lieutenant-Governor, Penang.

WHERE was it? and was it a territory, a mountain, or only an emporium or mart for gold?

This is a question the solution of which has concerned many ancient geographers and historians, and, though treated upon by numerous writers since their time, has certainly not been satisfactorily answered, even at the present day.

It might, therefore, appear somewhat adventurous on my part, in the face of so many more able men, to endeavour to make an attempt to throw some light on the subject; but I do so with the feeling that if I can only advance our knowledge in the smallest degree in the right direction, it will not be altogether unprofitable.

It is common knowledge to us all that the situation of this gold-producing region was thought by Arias Montanus, a Catholic divine and learned Orientalist, to be in Peru, where there are still gold-washings, but the country provides more silver than gold. Raleigh believed it to be in the Moluccas, in the easternmost division of the Malay Archipelago. Calmet, who wrote a history of the Bible and the Jews, fixed it in Armenia, the site of Mount Ararat, or Noah's Mountain, according to the Persians. Purchas, Milton, Huet, Bruce, Robertson, Quatremère, Manch, and others, are unanimous in their belief that the true Ophir was only to be found in Africa. Then, again, Arabia had its votaries in Michaelis, a learned Biblical scholar and Orientalist of some distinction; in Niebuhr, the great

\* The word "Ophir" is clearly in a language of inflectional type, and may be either from the Semitic or Arabic. If from the latter, the word "Woffah," meaning length and duration, would phonetically represent it, and might refer to the length and duration of a voyage—"Woffah," or, as we have it, "Ophir."

linguist and traveller; in Gosselin, Vincent, Winer, Fürst, Forster, Crawford, Kalisch, Twistleton, and others. And, lastly, we have in favour of India, Vitringa, a noted Professor in Oriental languages; Lassen, a Sanskrit scholar and eminent Orientalist; Ritter, a German geographer of great repute; Bertheau, Ewald, down to Max Müller, the well-known and attractive writer on philology, and the editor of the sacred books of the East.

In addition to this weight of testimony, we come to that admirable digest on this subject from the pen of Professor Keane, who in his work "*The Gold of Ophir*" has gone most exhaustively into this field of inquiry; and though I held views at variance with his, I felt that he had made good his argument in favour of Havilah (the Rhodesia of Africa) as the country from whence the "gold of Ophir" was obtained, and that the true Ophir was an emporium in Arabia.

In his volume he refers to the labours of Dr. Carl Peters, who has written two valuable works, in both of which he treats on this subject—viz., "*King Solomon's Golden Ophir*," and his more voluminous book, the "*Eldorado of the Ancients*," published as late as 1902. He is in favour of Africa, and thinks that the ancient name of Ophir has survived up to our own times in the Latin form, "*Africa*."

Professor Keane also does full justice to the diligent researches of Messrs. Bent and Swan amongst the ruins of Zimbabwe in South Africa, and to the interesting volume published by Hall and Neal on these ancient ruins. There is also a short sketch of these Zimbabwe ruins by Sir John Willoughby, with some plans which add very much to our knowledge as showing the disposition of the various parts of these ruins.

All our information so far, therefore, led us certainly to the conclusion that in Rhodesia we had at last found the gold-yielding land of the past, and that the question of the situation of Ophir had been for ever set at rest. When,

to our dismay, comes in the disturbing element in the shape of a statement by Mr. St. C. Boscawen, in the *Globe* newspaper of so late as November last—viz., that Mr. Randal MacIver, who had done excellent work under Dr. Petrie in Egypt, after visiting and exploring the ruins at Zimbabwe in Rhodesia, came to the conclusion that they were planned on the well-known lines of the Kaffir kraal, and he had therefore been compelled to throw over the theories of Messrs. Hall and Neal and others, and to tell us that it would now be necessary to look elsewhere for the site of Ophir.

Upon reading this I was led to refer again to what I myself had written upon the subject so far back as 1878, in a work entitled “Perak and the Malays,” and, this work being now out of print, I may as well transcribe what I said at that time, which was as follows :

“Of the ancient history of the gold of the Malay Peninsula much may be said, for it has been famed for its production from all ages. This peninsula was the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients, and although the evidence is not conclusive that Josephus is right when he says that the Mount Ophir of Malacca, some 150 miles south of Perak, and called by the modern Malays Gunong Ledang, or the Ophir of Solomon, there is much that is in favour of this supposition ; and being a subject of such great interest, it may be worth while to investigate the question, even at the risk of being somewhat tedious.”

It may be taken as a matter of fact that from the very earliest ages there was intercourse between the Arabians and Malays, and hence it is reasonable to suppose that the precious metal gold would, with spices, be amongst the articles of trade. From the earliest times we know that the Arabians sent into Sabæa both spices (frankincense) and gold ; but whether the latter came from Sofala, on the east coast of Africa, the seaport of the Mount Ophir of Bruce and Le Grande, or from the Mount Ophir of Malacca, is an open question. There is also, it should be

added, a Mount Ophir, or the Golden Mountain, in Sumatra ; but this may be left out of the argument, as this name was conferred upon it by Europeans at a comparatively recent date.

Lassen, the Orientalist, has placed Ophir, the origin of Solomon's gold, somewhere about the mouth of the Indus, and his hypothesis, says Mr. Crawford, is founded on some resemblance between the Hebrew and Sanskrit names of the commodities brought from this ancient spot. The nearest resemblance is in the words for an ape, that in the Hebrew being "Koph" or "Kof," and in Sanskrit "Kapi" or "Kopi." Mr. Crawford, however, in view of all the difficulties connected with its geographical position, comes to the conclusion that the Ophir of Scripture is simply an emporium where Solomon's fleet obtained gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks ; and he fixes this emporium somewhere in Arabia, either at Sabæa or at a spot on the southern coast. But as we read that the ships of Solomon "came to Ophir," it is more natural to conclude that they went to a place bearing that name, and not to a convenient emporium where the gold of Ophir and the other commodities were exposed for sale. The question, then, seems to lie between the Ophir of the eastern coast of Africa and that of Malacca.

There are many things in favour of the mount in the Malay Peninsula being that of Scripture, and the idea is supported by many writers. For instance, Dr. Kitto in his encyclopædia states that the natives of Malacca call their gold-mines "Ophirs," to which may be added that, the Malays being decidedly a non-progressive people, their term probably comes from time immemorial. De P. Poivre, a French author, writing in 1797, gives the same statement, adding of the natives of Sumatra : "On y trouve plusieurs mines d'or que les habitants de Malacca et de Sumatra nomment 'Ophirs.'"

When we consider the objects sought, we find that they were apes, peacocks, ivory, and gold. Now, though the

ape proper may not be indigenous to the Malay Peninsula, monkeys of large size abound.\* It is the home of one of the most beautiful of the peacocks. Ivory, if not abundant, is procurable; elephants are plentiful; spices follow as a matter of course, for this is the very centre of the production, and gold is worked to the present day. Gold, apes, and ivory are certainly found in Africa, but the other articles named have to be brought from the Eastern Seas.

To go back to the ancients for support of the theories that Solomon's vessels may have traded with the Malays, Pliny tells us that Eratosthenes (born 276 B.C.) speaks of Meroë, India, and the Thiniæ; and Agatharcides, a contemporary of the latter (about 104 B.C.) says of Sabæa, now Yemen, or "the Blest": "The people are robust, warlike, and able mariners; they sail in very large vessels to the country where the odoriferous commodities are produced, they plant colonies there, and import from thence the Larimma, an odour nowhere else to be found—in fact, there is no nation upon earth so wealthy as the Gerrhel and Sabel as being the centre of all the commerce which passes between Asia and Europe." The same writer also refers to the Maldivè and Laccadive Islands, and coupled with these is a reference to Malacca, or the Golden Chersonese.

According to Dr. Vincent, the Chinese had not then passed the Straits of Malacca, but the Malays seem in all ages to have traded with India, and probably with the coast of Africa, and he ends by saying:

"All this induces a belief that in the very earliest ages, even prior to Moses, the communication with India was open, that the intercourse with that continent was in the hands of the Arabians, that Thebes had owed its splendour to that commerce, and that Memphis from the same cause

\* According to Wallace, our best authority, there is a curious ape, not uncommon in some parts of the Malay Peninsula, named by the Malays a "Siamang"; and the Orang-utang, also so named by the Malays, is found in Sumatra, though not now known in Malaya.

came to the same pre-eminence, and Cairo succeeded to both in wealth, grandeur, and magnificence."

If, then, as this evidence would show, the communication with India and its isles was open before the time of Moses, and in the hands of the Arabians, who from the earliest ages had an intercourse with the Malays, the inference that can be drawn from this may be left to everyone to judge of as he pleases.

There is, however, another significant point which favours the belief that the "gold of Ophir" was obtained from Malacca, for amongst the articles of export to the Red Sea in the time of the *Periplus*, which gives an account of the navigation of the ancients from the east coast of Africa down to Sofala, gold is not mentioned, but only ivory, rhinoceros, iron, and tortoiseshell of a good sort, but inferior to that of India. Dr. Vincent, the last editor and exponent of the work, is so struck with this fact that he confesses to feeling some degree of disappointment in not finding gold, as the fleets of Solomon are said to have obtained gold from this coast. He, however, gets over the difficulty by saying our present object is not the trade, but the geography.

In later days—viz., in the fourteenth century—Barbosa says that gold was so abundant in Malacca that it was reckoned by the *Bhar* of four hundredweight.

In 1615, also, we read in the State Papers that at Acheen, in Sumatra, the Admiral's galley had a turret built in the stern covered with plates of gold, a sure sign of the plentiful supply of the metal.

Later still, in Herbert's "Travels," printed in 1677, he says that Malacca had the name *Aurea* given to it on account of the abundance of gold carried thither from Menang Kabau, in the neighbouring isle of Sumatra; and, again, Valentyn says in 1737: "Acheen exported gold by the thousand ounces at a time."

I then suggested that a practical mineralogist and geologist should be sent out from England in order



to examine and report upon the capabilities of the Malay Peninsula in this respect, which has not yet been done, as far as I am aware.

I may here add, by way of information, that the Sabæans\* were the ancient inhabitants of Yemen, in Southern Arabia, and are the people called Sheba in Gen. x. 28, xxv. 3, and Job vi. 19, and it is probably the Sovereign of this people who paid the celebrated visit to Solomon. The Sabæans were a powerful and wealthy people who, from long before Solomon down to the beginning of the Christian era, controlled the sea and caravan traffic in gold, sweet spices, ivory, ebony, and valuable tissues, that came from India and Africa, and were despatched northwards to Syria. Later on the trade on which the Sabæans relied began to take a sea-route and go up the Red Sea, and from that cause their prosperity and power seem to have declined.

Although Professor Keane restates on p. 62 of his work that the Mount Ophir of Malacca was only named so by the Portuguese in A.D. 1511, and was, moreover, only a moderately auriferous principality of Muar, there is no getting over the fact that it is situated in what was known to the ancients as the Aurea Chersonesus, and Flavius Josephus, who wrote his "Antiquities of the Jews" as early as A.D. 70, says, on p. 226 in Whiston's edition of his work:

"Moreover, the King built many ships in the Egyptian Bay of the Red Sea, in a certain place called Ezion-geber; it is now called Berenice, and is not far from the city Eloth. This country belonged formerly to the Jews, and became useful for shipping from the donations of Hiram, King of Tyre; for he sent a sufficient number of men thither for pilots, and such as were skilful in navigation, to whom

\* See "Chambers's Encyclopædia," under "Mandæans," an Oriental religious sect identifying themselves with the Sabæans. See also Wilkinson's able paper on the Peninsular Malays, 1906, and Professor Chwolsohn's work, "Die Sabier u. der Sabismus," 1856, as to early intercourse between Arabs and Malays.

Solomon gave this command, that they should go along with his own stewards to the land that was of old called Ophir, but now the Aurea Chersonese, which belonged to India, to fetch him gold, and when they had gathered four hundred talents together they returned to the King again."

In chapter vii. of the same work it is, moreover, added: "About the same time there were brought to the King from the Aurea Chersonese, a country so called, precious stones and pine-trees." Again, "Now the weight of gold that was brought him was 666 talents, not including in that sum what was brought by the merchants, nor what the Toparchs (Governors) and Kings of Arabia gave him in presents. The King had many ships which lay upon the sea of Tarsus; these he commanded to carry out all sorts of merchandise into the remotest nations, by the sale of which silver and gold were brought to the King, and a great quantity of ivory, and Ethiopians and apes, and they finished their voyage going and returning in three years' time."

Balfour also, treating upon this subject in his encyclopædia, says much the same, and repeats that the Tarshish fleets arrived at Ezion-Geber only once every three years, and then adds it may fairly be inferred that the voyage was a considerable one, and that the ships had to go with the S.W. monsoon and return with the N.E. winds. Solomon's navigators, therefore, seem to have crossed the open sea and traded with India. He adds there are at present in Further India two places called Mount Ophir, one of them in Sumatra, 9,770 feet above the sea, to which the name was given by the Portuguese, and they gave the same name to Gunong Ladang, a mountain forty miles north of the town of Malacca, 4,000 feet high. In the vicinity of both of them gold has been found. Josephus expressly says that the Aurea Chersonese was the Ophir of Solomon's time. Malacca, as is thought, is the eastern extremity of what was known as Ophir to the ancient Hebrews, or Sophir to the authors of the Septuagint version, whither

the fleets of Hiram and Solomon voyaged on their trading expeditions, and once in three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks.

To quote again another authority, Professor Max Müller, who believes Ophir to be India, and he supports his opinion by a reference to the ancient names for the articles imported by Solomon which are Sanskrit. He says, also, the nature and direction of the winds blowing in those quarters would allow of a voyage from the heart of the Red Sea to India, stopping at several places on the way, being accomplished by the rude vessels and cautious sailing of those days in a period of from eighteen months to two years.

Again, in Bochart's sacred geography, he affirms that every circumstance required to constitute the Ophir of Hebrew Scripture may be found in the classical Taprobane—the modern Ceylon.

Sir Emerson Tennent, another writer with some knowledge of the subject, has suggested that the Port of Galle may be the Tarshish of the Bible, which lay in the track between the Arabian Gulf and Ophir, and that Ophir itself is in Malacca, or the Aurea Chersonese. He then refers to the articles brought as identical with the Tamil names by which some of them are called to the present day.

I do not wish to encumber this paper with more quotations and reproductions, but I have in my possession rather a rare work upon Malacca, written in A.D. 1613 by the Portuguese Godinho de Eredia, the original of which is in the Royal Library at Brussels. This work was translated into French by M. Léon Janssen in 1882.

I take from it only a few extracts touching on the subject of this paper. He says:

“Dans les forêts de cette contrée habitaient aussi des Banuas, race sauvage comme celles des satyres donc parle ‘Plinè.’ Ces Banuas comme ceux de l’ancienne Etrurie

étaient sorciers. Ils habitaient le Mont Gunoledam (Mount Ophir).

“ Parmi les animaux de cette contrée se rencontrent beaucoup d'éléphants, et des poules domestiques et sauvages, et une grande variété d'oiseaux au riche plumage, et enfin beaucoup de paon.

“ Nous n'avons connaissance de la Chersonese d'or que par le commerce du Port de Tacola dont Ptolémée parle 163 ans après la venue du Christ. Bien que l'Hindostan et la Taprobane fussent dans la zone torride, recommence et la navigation étaient ouverts. Cela ressort de ce que dit Hérodote, et de ce que rapporte 'Pliné' relativement au commerce de l'Idumée et de l'Égypte par la Mer Rouge, et de ce que confirme l'Écriture touchant la navigation de Solomon du Port d'Asiongaber.”

These extracts will suffice to show his belief in the trade from the Red Sea to the Aurea Chersonese in the time of Solomon, and the presence on the Malay Peninsula of the articles brought to the King.

Now let us turn to the Holy Scriptures, a safe guide in more ways than one, and the first reference we have to Ophir is in Gen. x. 29, where we read that Ophir and Havilah were the names of two of the sons of Joktan, out of the thirteen born to him.

From Smith's admirable “Dictionary of the Bible” we learn that the land of the Havilah and the land of the Joktan were in the south of Arabia, though kindred tribes had their seats in Africa. Doubtless the names of the sons were in process of time given to the region in which they dwelt.

Professor Keane puts it very well on p. 101 of his work “The Gold of Ophir.” In the popular imagination Havilah and Ophir were thus intimately connected by this golden link, and when Ophir, a real place, was mentioned, it was almost inevitable that Havilah should also be mentioned in association with it.

The next reference we have, taking them according to Cruden's Concordance, is in 1 Kings ix. 26-28, and

2 Chron. viii. 18 : "And King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to King Solomon." And in 1 Kings x. 11 we are told that they brought almug-trees and precious stones. The word "almug" would appear to be from the Arabic, and is probably a plural, as in the Arabic word "Lafz," for instance, the plural of which is "Altaz."

There is one further passage which concerns us—viz., that from 1 Kings xxii. 48 : "Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold ; but they went not : for their ships were broken at Ezion-geber."

From all the evidence I have adduced, it seems pretty plain to my mind that the true Ophir was on the Aurea Chersonesus, and that there were possibly emporia for the sale of gold at several ports in Arabia, and at Taprobane, where the fleets from the Malay Peninsula would have touched on their voyage both outward and homeward bound. That there may have been gold brought from Africa to Solomon I think is not to be disputed, but the bulk of this precious metal came in those days, in all likelihood, from the Aurea Chersonesus, and where also all the other articles mentioned as part of the cargo of the boats could have been obtained without difficulty.

At this period, however, of the world's history, and in the face of such diversity of opinions on the subject, it appears to me to be a question, with the limited knowledge we at present possess, scarcely susceptible yet of a satisfactory solution, nor one to make the mind quite easy about.

To those, however, who are curious on the point, I would say, Take an ancient atlas, and, from the head of the Sinus Arabicus, or modern Red Sea, consider the fleets of Solomon to have been fitted out at Ezion-geber or

Arabah, and, in the rude sailing boats that they possessed in those days, navigating down the coast of Arabia, and touching at ports here and there to water. Their first port might have been Chersonesus (a singular name here), situated opposite to Berenice on the Egyptian side, and from whence we know that even before Ptolemy's days there was a brisk trade to India. Coming to the southernmost part of Arabia, they would in all probability have put it in at Arabia Felix, our modern Aden. They might then have sailed round the south of Arabia and touched at the territory of Sochoh, which is referred to in 1 Kings iv. 10, and where Dr. Smith thinks King Solomon had one of his commissariat districts. Here they would have filled up with supplies for the long voyage across the Mare Erythæum, or Indian Ocean, making a straight course with the S.W. monsoon to Taprobane, our modern Ceylon, and may, as Sir Emerson Tennent suggests, have anchored at the old Dagana or Melhora, our modern Point de Galle. Balfour thinks that this was the old Tarshish to which the Phœnician mariners resorted. These early Phœnicians were supposed to have emigrated from the Persian Gulf to the shores of Syria 3000 B.C. and, as we know, were great traders and worked between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

After taking in supplies at Dagana or Point de Galle, the fleets would shape another straight course to the Aurea Chersonesus, and would sight land at Tacola, or Junk Ceylon, at the entrance to the Straits of Malacca.

Here, on the territory of the Aurea Chersonesus, the sailors of Hiram and Solomon would obtain, as I have said before, every article named in the Bible for their freight homeward. The journey would be accomplished in the three years, one year in crossing by the S.W. monsoon, one year for lading the vessels, and the third year for returning by the N.E. winds to Arabia and Ezion-geber.

It might be asked, Where is Parvaim, from whence gold

was obtained by Solomon? Professor Keane does not agree with Glaser as to its being the Sak-el-Farwaim of North Arabia, but thinks it had rather the same proverbial sense as the "gold of Ophir."

Smith, in his dictionary, is of opinion that it may have been a general term for the East, from the Sanskrit word "Parva," but in the old maps there is a place in East Africa named Parvum, very much in the position of Sofala, but north of it.

It may be well to insert here that I have myself ascended the Mount Ophir in Malacca, and found it to be of granite formation, with here and there auriferous quartz, and at the base of it I came across the remains of several ancient workings for alluvial gold, but saw no trace of vein gold in any portion of the quartz I obtained. But this visit did not give me any leaning or bias in favour of this being the actual place from whence Solomon got his gold; for the Malay Peninsula, or old Aurea Chersonesus, is full of gold, and might have been mined either on the east or west coast, as it is to some extent to the present day.

I would now conclude this short paper by saying that I do not suppose for a moment that the evidence I have brought forward, and the facts I have stated, will have been sufficient to satisfy the minds of those who have made a study of this difficult problem. I have but endeavoured to elucidate the subject, and to remove some part of it from obscurity, keeping as far as I possibly could from speculative reasoning in viewing it in its different aspects and relations.

Although, as will have appeared, I incline to the belief that the true Ophir was the territory of the Aurea Chersonesus, and that emporia for the sale of gold and other commodities existed along the coast of Arabia, I confess that my mind is still in a state of expectation, and waiting for that further knowledge which is promised to us from the researches of the eminent archæologists now occupied in Africa, India, and Malaya.

## ON LEPROSY AND FISH-EATING.\*

BY GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

THE author, in his preface, states that his main object is to carry conviction to his readers that the fundamental cause of the malady known as *true leprosy* is the eating of fish in a state of commencing decomposition; that fish, whether fresh or properly salted or cured, is innocuous as an article of diet; that decomposing fish is the one sole cause of leprosy; that the malady is not contagious by touch; that prevention by segregation is of very little use as a preventive; that the use of asylums in the Middle Ages was not the efficient cause of its decline; and that the best preventive and antidote of the disease is salt liberally used when fish is taken as a diet.

The author states that his special interest in this disease commenced in 1855—fifty-one years ago—from seeing some cases in the London hospitals, and the conviction was forced upon him that some definite and specially malignant microbe was the fountain and origin of the malady. By a process of inductive reasoning carefully carried out, he came to the conclusion that neither climate nor race was causative of the disease, and that it was most prevalent where the inhabitants lived on islands or shores of the sea, or where their location was near rivers or places adjoining. In 1869 he visited Norway, and there inspected the largest fish-market and the largest leper-home in the world, and discovered that the peasants preferred decomposed to fresh fish. The doctors there were unable to accept the fish hypothesis, though they could not assign any probable theory to account for the disease; and, as the natives had a greater liking for decomposed than fresh fish, the author

\* "A Statement of Facts and Explanations," by Jonathan Hutchinson, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., etc., 1906. Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 16, James Street, London, S.W., 1906.



naturally accepted the inference that fish in a decomposed condition was the main element in its causation and spread.

The discovery of the bacillus of leprosy in 1874 by Dr. Hansen opened a new vista in the apparent causation of the malady, and it was hopefully regarded that the knowledge of this new factor would be of great use, not only in checking the disease in its initial stage, but also in curing the unfortunate sufferers. Many years have elapsed since this important discovery, and as no bacillus was found by experts in fish, the conclusion was apparently obvious that decomposing fish was not the cause of the disease. In 1890 a Government inquiry was made in Natal, and it was announced that the Kaffirs there never tasted fish of any sort, and hence the conclusion arrived at was that bad fish could not have caused the disease. In 1901 and 1902 Dr. Hutchinson visited Cape Colony and Natal, and the evidence obtained there pointed conclusively to the fact that some cases had originated in Natal amongst persons who had not eaten fish. The cases were few in number and only occurred amongst persons who had associated with leprosy patients, and these chiefly among young people, and all the original cases without exception had occurred amongst adults who had been at work at Cape Colony, and presumably had eaten bad fish there. Food handled by the impure hands of a leper, or milk taken from an infected mother, was more likely to have produced the disease. The author blames the fish factories at Cape Town for producing the disease by exporting fish in a bad state to the neighbouring regions.

Next year the doctor visited India, and gave lectures at Colombo, Madras, Calcutta, Lahore, and Bombay, and he states that in these towns nothing was brought forward in the discussion that followed to overturn his hypothesis. It appears that the Protestants in Russia who live on the borders of the Baltic provinces suffer more from this disease

than the orthodox Christians of the Greek Church, as the latter are forbidden fish on fast days, whilst the Protestants have no religious law against it.

Dr. Hansen, with much candour, declares that contagion is not the only factor at work in producing this disease, and states that the fish theory finds "no support in Norway, nor probably in any other part of the world." This is rather a bald and bold statement, for the disease is known chiefly in places where the buying and eating of fish is most prevalent, and where salt is not used as a condiment to the extent it ought to be in curing fish, and the author states that the decline of leprosy is more due to improved dietetic habits than any other factor. Only the southern part of China suffers from this disease, where fish abounds and salt is imported; whereas in Pekin the fish supply is scanty and salt is plentiful, and in this, the northern part, leprosy is unknown. Unfortunately, experimental proof as yet has been of no value as to the inception of the disease, as the bacillus may be present in the patient for a long time without any sign or symptom of the malady, either latent or recognisable.

The author gives a summary in his preface of the chief facts in reference to the disease under eighteen heads, commencing with the "world-wide distribution," and ending with the statement that, "It has been wholly, or almost wholly, absent from Cape Colony, Natal, the Sandwich Islands, and some other places, until factories for the curing of the fish were instituted"; and as to the application of the fish hypothesis regarding leprosy, he states under ten heads, first, the cause of its antiquity, and under the tenth head the reason of its occurrence in *de novo* and sporadic cases; and under a third head gives six rules for the prevention of the disease, such as the danger of eating decomposing fish, eating food taken from the hands of lepers, and not allowing leprous mothers to nurse their infants, etc.

These excellent rules, if carried out carefully and

diligently, would certainly be of great benefit to the public in preventing the disease.

Leprosy is a disease *per se*, and has no affinity with other maladies. Tuberculosis in its first stage is more analogous to it than any other human malady; the bacillus of each has some characteristics in common. It may exist in the body of the recipient without, in the first stage, exhibiting any sign of its presence, and lie dormant for a lengthened period in the system; or it may be roused into action without any apparent cause and produce a great change in the constitution, and death may result; or it may quietly settle down, and fair health may ensue without a relapse, and the patient may continue to have a fair state of health for an indefinite time, and die of old age or some other affection. In some cases of chronic tuberculosis, also, the skin has a thick, flabby appearance on the cheeks and brow; certain glands may be affected and increase in size, and remain so (on the neck and elsewhere); but, unlike leprosy, the breath of such a person, if a nurse, may affect young children with the same disease, and produce tuberculosis on the brain covering, very soon ending in death. Leprosy seems to be entirely a human disease, and has existed thousands of years, with the same characteristic symptoms which attended it from the beginning, and remains, to this day. The author mentions a disease to which sheep are subject and which exhibits an exact parallel to leprosy—viz., fluke. In some few cases recovery takes place, but in the majority the sheep die. Shell-fish and pork when kept for some time and taken as food also exhibit a similar course. As a few patients recover from leprosy and tuberculosis, it may be hoped and expected that even these two formidable diseases may be conquered by the discovery of an antagonistic germ or other method which may prevent or destroy the bacillus and other organisms which favour its growth and development.

The contents of this valuable volume are divided into thirty-seven chapters and are illustrated with sixteen plates,

No. 2 exhibiting the portrait of a young woman taken three years before the leprosy commenced, with a pleasant face, and No. 3 seven years later, showing the same person, the leprosy having existed four years, and the contrast between the two is remarkably striking: the face is very coarse, the eyes half closed, and the tuberosities and callosities which the disease have produced on the countenance and arms appear quite hideous. The other plates chiefly consist of maps showing the diffusion of this disease all over the ancient and modern world.

This dreadful disease shows itself first on the cutaneous surface, giving two symptoms of its presence—the appearance of little brown patches, and loss of sensation following this diagnostic mark, and gradually spreading, if conditions are favourable, over the body. The author states that its chief habitat is on the sea-coast, or near lakes or rivers, and the symptoms are the same in all parts of the world. Singularly enough, in the tropics it affects all classes, and in temperate regions only the poor, and he draws two corollaries with regard to its presence—first, that the poison which produces the disease gains access to the body in the form of food, and second, that the evidence as regards this disease points to fish as being, in all probability, the vehicle by which the poison of leprosy gains access to the human body, and he cites many authorities in favour of this view.

In chapter ii. the author gives a definition of the disease, and he declares it to be “a long-protracted, often fatal, but self-terminable bacillary disease, in which the peripheral nervous system and the skin are chiefly affected, and in which loss of sensation, muscular paralysis, erythematous tumefaction of the skin and acroteric necroses are usual phenomena.”

The disease has certain affinities with particular parts of the body, and the poison is not diffused over all, yet where it chooses its site there it unmistakably remains, destroying the parts affected. The *Bacillus lepra* gives no help as to the cure of the disease, and can only live in the human

body where its conditions suit it. Inoculation, attempted on man and animals, has failed, and the author concludes that "the world-wide distribution of leprosy proves that it is not solely dependent on contagion, but is capable of independent origination; and further, that the irregularity of its distribution makes it certain that it is produced by some article of food which is consumed in some countries and not used in others."

Any kind of fish is liable, and that alone, to produce the disease, according to the author's experience; and in New Zealand, when the Maori lived on fish and fern-roots, leprosy was common; but now, since beef and mutton, potatoes and wheaten bread have been used, leprosy is rare. It is dying out in the island of Madeira; but where, on the contrary, large fish markets exist, there, as in Bergen and Norway, leprosy is plentiful. The chief means of spreading the disease is unlike all other disorders, as it does not contaminate the air, but the food being touched by a leprous hand or the baby taking its mother's milk, are the two chief factors, and its introduction into the system being unknown, it may remain quiescent for many years. In some places it is spoken of as the "Chinese disease," and in many districts the Chinaman is a careless gastronomet and unclean in his habits. It is most common in Kwanting and Fokien, and in the Yangtse, but in the central plain of Yangtse is less abundant, and is altogether absent in the Yangtse plain of the east, with a dense population. The swampy rice-fields of Kwanting are full of it, and other swampy rice-fields are exempt from it. Neither climate nor the sea produces it, and the author is forced to the conclusion that the disease is not contagious, but is due to eating bad fish, which these latter inhabitants do not eat, and in other large tracts of this great empire it is unknown.

The author spared no time or expense in the researches he has made in various towns and places he visited in all parts of the world where the disease has been prevalent, and he has accumulated quite a storehouse of literature

on the subject, all pointing to the fact that stale and putrid fish has, in the majority of cases, been the chief cause of the occurrence of the malady.

Nature keeps her secrets well, whether in the medical or physical world, and the author deserves great praise for his untiring researches into the apparently causative agent producing this malignant and hideous malady; and if in the places mentioned where the disease is still prevalent a law were made and enforced that all stale or putrid or improperly-salted fish was forbidden to be sold or eaten, it might help to lessen the extension of this loathsome disorder.

## A PLEA FOR THE BAGPIPE IN INDIA.

BY DONALD NORMAN REID.

IN my letter on Mr. Mitra's lecture\* I plead for the bagpipe being made the national musical instrument of India, so as to unite more closely the bonds of love and friendship between this country and our great Dependency. Something of the kind is wanted now that Indians are being treated as aliens in South Africa and in Australia. The duty of Anglo-Indians is to prove that the Indians are not aliens, and that they have as much right to settle in the Colonies as those who enter our possessions with white skins and black hearts. But the heart of the Indian is not black, whatever his skin may be; and in his own country he now marches to the strains of the bagpipes with the best of our white soldiers. Is there a finer soldier in the world than the little Gurkha? And yet Mr. T. Gray, writing in *Man* on "The Measurements of the Indian Coronation Contingent," states that "an interesting result brought out by the chart is the fact that the Tamil and the Himalayan (Gurkhas and Garhwalis) heads are almost exactly alike. This points to the hypothesis that when the Aryans entered India at the North-West they acted like a wedge, and pushed part of the pre-Aryan races on to the slopes of the Himalayas, and part into the Deccan." The Gurkhas are nowadays the flower of the Indian army, the bravest of the brave, with the same contempt for death that the Japanese have; and as for the Madras sepoy, I cannot do better than quote my own words in their defence from an article on "Victims of Circumstances" which I contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of June, 1897:

"In the days when the Madras army was second to none there was a large proportion of Scotsmen among its officers, and the old 74th and 78th Highlanders were the two

\* See p. 151 of this *Review*.

British regiments which fought shoulder to shoulder with Madras sepoys in some of the fiercest fights that took place on Indian soil. My mother's father was an old 74th officer, and on my father's side all his mother's brothers were in the Service, as will be seen from the following inscription on a tombstone in the old burying-ground of the Macleods of Drynoch, in the Isle of Skye :

“Underneath are the remains of Donald Macdonald Macleod, Lieutenant, 50th Regiment Madras I., who died at Drynoch in 1837, seventh son of Norman Macleod of Drynoch, and Alexandrina Macleod of Bernera, whose eldest son Donald died at Gravesend in 1824, Captain 78th Regiment. Norman died in Java in 1814, a Captain in the same corps. Alexander died at Forres in 1828, a Major in the 12th Regiment B.N.I. John died a Captain in 78th Regiment during passage home from Ceylon. Roderick died at Killegray from a hurt received in action on board the *Belvidera* frigate on N.A. station. Forbes died in Madras a Lieutenant, 12th Regiment N.I. This stone is dedicated to the memory of the above-named by their sorrowing mother and her surviving sons, Martin, late 27th, 79th, and 25th Regiments, now of Drynoch, and Charles, now of Glendulochan. 1839.’

“I give the above record of some of my fighting kinsmen who sacrificed their lives in the East in the service of their country, as the Anglo-Indians, who only know me as a planter, entertain a strong suspicion to the effect that I am a traitor in disguise, owing to the manner in which I espouse the cause of the natives against European traders. But I may well inquire, How shall I address that large class of Anglo-Indians with whom rupees are always a weightier consideration than duties? In our pursuit of the almighty rupee we forget to take an interest in the welfare of the natives, with the result that we spend our lives in complete ignorance of their thoughts and aspirations. Has not William Watson told us that

“‘Hate and mistrust are the children of blindness ;  
Could we but see one another, ’twere well !  
Knowledge is sympathy, charity, kindness ;  
Ignorance only is maker of hell’?

“If the Tamil and Telugu speaking races of Southern India have so degenerated that they are now only fit to be



hewers of wood and drawers of water, it is solely owing to our present system of government, which, as Sir Thomas Munro pointed out to Canning, is 'much more efficacious in depressing them than all our laws and school-books can be in elevating their character. . . . The improvement of the character of a people, and the keeping them in the lowest state of dependence on foreign rulers, to which they can be reduced by conquest, are matters quite incompatible with each other.' I believe thoroughly in military officers as administrators, for one has only to turn to the many valuable books which were written by the British military officers of the East India Company to judge of their sympathetic demeanour towards the natives, and the following extract from Welsh's 'Military Reminiscences' is well worth quoting. Welsh first of all describes how splendidly the Madras troops behaved at the Battle of Argaum, which was fought on November 23, 1803, and he then goes on to tell how a native officer met his death :

"Subadar Ali Khan, a man so uncommonly diminutive in person that we used to call him the "little cock sparrow," was one of the best and bravest of soldiers I ever knew. He was at this time far advanced in life, as he had earned the respect and esteem of every European officer, as well as of every native in the corps ; and, what was very remarkable, this Lilliputian hero had as strong a voice as he had a great soul. In action he was the life and soul of those around him, and in devoted affection to the Service he had no superior. The whole of the flesh and sinews of the hinder part of both thighs being torn away by a large shot, he fell, and could not rise again ; but as soon as the action was over he requested his attendants to carry him after us, that his dear European comrades might see him die. We had halted on the field, upwards of a mile in front of where he fell, when he arrived, and spoke to us with a firm voice and most affectionate manner, recounted his services, and bade us all adieu. We endeavoured to encourage him by asserting that his wound was not mortal, and that he would yet recover. He said he felt assured to the contrary, but he was not afraid of death ; he had often braved it in the discharge of his duty, and his only regret was that he should not be permitted to render further services to his honourable masters.'

"Here is another incident of the Battle of Argaum which is worth recording :

"Lieutenant Langlands, of the 74th Highlanders, was close to us in the action, when a powerful Arab threw a spear at him, and, drawing his

sword, rushed forward to complete his conquest. The spear having entered the flesh of the Lieutenant's leg, cut its way out again and stuck in the ground behind him, when Langlands grasped it, and, turning the point, threw it with so true an aim that it went through his opponent's body, and transfixing him within three or four yards of his intended victim. All eyes were for an instant turned on these two combatants, when a sepoy of our Grenadiers rushed out of the ranks, and, patting the Lieutenant on the back, exclaimed, "Achhak iya, sahib, bahut achha kiya !" ("Well done, sahib, very well done!") Such a ludicrous circumstance, even in a moment of extreme peril, could not pass unnoticed, and our soldiers all enjoyed a hearty laugh."

When two regiments of Highlanders took part in the Seven Years' War, the Germans looked upon them as savages who were strangers to Christianity! "The Scotch Highlanders," says the *Vienna Gazette* of 1762, "are caught in the mountains when young, and still run with a surprising degree of swiftness. As they are strangers to fear, they make very good soldiers when disciplined. The men are of low stature, and the most of them old or very young. . . . Broglie himself has lately said that he once wished that he was a man of 6 feet high, but that now he is reconciled to his height since he has seen the wonders performed by the little mountaineers."

At Fontenoy, when the military reputation of this country was at its lowest, a Highland regiment fought and earned distinction by covering the retreat of the defeated army, on which occasion, according to the account of the French themselves, "the Highland furies rushed in upon them with more violence than ever did a sea driven by a tempest." At Fontenoy the Irish marched into action to the sound of their bagpipes.

When the Marchioness of Hastings sailed for India, she took with her one of her Highland cousins, a Miss Ross, who had been brought up at Raasay. In India this Miss Ross married as his second wife the celebrated amateur artist Sir Charles D'Oyly. While living at Patna with her husband Lady D'Oyly had an elegant set of pipes, "of peculiar workmanship," made for Mackay, the famous Raasay piper. On receiving this present, Mackay, in her

honour, composed the tune, "Lady D'Oyly's Salute," which is so well known to the best pipers of our day. It was one of these Mackay pipers from Raasay who at Waterloo stepped outside the bayonets of the 79th Highlanders, and, marching round their square, played on his pipes the popular air of "Cogaidh nā Sith."

The following extract from a footnote to Robert Carruthers' edition of Boswell's "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides" describes the part played by the bagpipes at our Highland funerals :

"Mr. MacQueen, or, more correctly, Dr. MacQueen—for he had received the degree of D.D., though he did not use it in Skye—was an eminent member of the Scottish Church, and is honourably mentioned by Dr. Erskine in his 'Sketches of Church History.' He died suddenly at Raasay in January, 1785, while on a visit to his cousin, the Laird of Raasay. The funeral of the learned and estimable pastor is still remembered. Raasay gave a liberal 'entertainment' previous to the 'lifting of the body'; there was another 'entertainment' at Portree, and a third at Kilmuir, the place of interment. The whole parish of Kilmuir assembled to receive and accompany the remains of their minister from Portree. There was something very striking and solemn in these large Highland funerals, in the appearance of the vast procession winding among the hills or stretching along the shore, and in the strains of the bagpipe as the 'Lament' was slowly and mournfully pealed forth."

Even nowadays "the whole population of a glen is still ready to pour forth to honour piety, or public service, or ancient descent, in its passage to the tomb"; and this is a Highland custom which might be introduced with advantage into India among our fellow-subjects.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of this Association was held on Monday, March 26, 1906, at Caxton Hall, Westminster. A paper was read by S. M. Mitra, Esq., M.R.A.S., on the subject of "The Partition of Bengal and the Bengali Language."\* Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I. (late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) presided. The following, among others, were present: Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., Sir Edward Candy, C.S.I., Sir Frederick Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Mr. and Mrs. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. T. H. Thornton, D.C.L., C.S.I., Colonel William Loch, C.I.E., Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. Anson, Colonel and Mrs. Altaf Ali, Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. C. J. Bond, Mr. Arthur Sawtell, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Mr. Shakir Ali, Mr. A. M. Fagan, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. T. Morison, Mr. J. D. Anderson, I.C.S., Mr. H. M. Birdwood, C.S.I., LL.D., Mr. J. W. Neil, Mr. R. K. Puckle, C.I.E., Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. W. Wavell, Mr. William F. Piper, Dr. Bhabba, Mrs. and Miss Wolley, Mr. Camruddin Amerudden Abdul Latif, B.A., LL.B., Mr. P. D. Patel, Mr. E. C. Harrington, Mr. S. N. Sinha, Miss Heuer, Mr. S. G. Hart, Mr. Leighton, Mr. A. K. Bakht, Mr. H. Croker, Mr. R. L. Dhingra, Mr. H. Nott, Mr. F. W. Thomas, Mr. H. R. Evans, Mr. S. H. Askari, Miss A. Smith, Major Malet, Miss Chapman Hands, Mr. A. Bakr, Mr. S. C. Kurwa, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Sec.).

The CHAIRMAN having introduced the lecturer, the paper was read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think we are all agreed that we have heard a very interesting paper, very ably and fluently delivered by Mr. Mitra. The subject of his lecture is divided into two parts. As regards the influence of the partition of Bengal on the Bengali language, I do not think it is necessary for me, at any rate, to say anything, because it seems to me that the lecturer has been putting up a scarecrow in order simply to knock it down again. I do not see how any reasonable man can suppose that an administrative change like that which has taken place, or the drawing the boundary of a province in one place rather than in another, can affect the language, and I am sure that no one who has a robust faith in the capacity and vitality of the Bengali language would ever use such an argument as that. As to the Bengali language itself, I think one may criticise what has been said from two points of view—firstly, from the point of view of the expert in philology, and, secondly, from the point of view of the lover of literature. I have no pretension to be an expert in philology. I hope there may be some members of the Association present who may discuss, and either support or possibly oppose to some extent, what Mr Mitra has told us. Certainly it did surprise me very much to hear the great antiquity of the language, and the large number of works that have

\* See this paper in our last (April) issue, pp. 263-277.

been written in it, both original works and translations from the English. It is also very interesting to know that the Bengal Press has been so fruitful and so copious. I think perhaps Mr. Mitra would allow that a severe critic would hesitate a little to accept his view about the antiquity of the Bengali character as dating back to the time of Buddha, basing it on the ground of a passage in the "*Lalita Vistara*," a work of which we do not know the date, saying that Buddha learnt the "*Vanga*" alphabet. We neither can trace the date of the assertion nor the authority attached to it, nor do we know that the alphabet that is referred to is the same as the present Bengali alphabet; but possibly Mr. Mitra in his closing speech may be able to dispel these doubts of mine.

From the literary side there are two specially interesting points to me—first, the extent to which Bengali ladies are able to get hold of translations into Bengali of English, French, and Persian writers; and, secondly, the extent to which they are able to understand and assimilate them. It seems to me it is a remarkable thing, and it takes me rather by surprise, to hear that Bengali ladies in any considerable number can read the works of Victor Hugo, Molière, Herbert Spencer, Huxley, and so forth. I rather wonder how they have attained that education. We know how very few ladies are educated in schools in Bengal, at any rate outside of elementary schools. Perhaps the explanation is that they have had this education from the hands of their male relatives. If that is so, one must congratulate them on having male relatives so cultivated and so progressive as to desire that their ladies should share in the possession of the knowledge which they themselves have acquired and have rejoiced in.

There is one thing which rather surprised me—namely, that Mr. Mitra did not say more about what is generally supposed to be the extreme divergence between written and spoken Bengali. I have always been under the impression that there was an immense contrast between them, and that an ordinary villager could not perhaps understand a single word of one of Bankim Chandra's novels, or any works of that kind. I remember hearing officers in Bengal say that when a Bengal villager was called up into court and the oath or affirmation administered to him, he would often go off into a fit of giggling. It was a kind of abracadabra to him, and he had not the faintest idea of what it meant. Mr. Mitra seemed to think the great improvement in Bengali, which had taken place about the time of Warren Hastings, consisted in the introduction of a large number of Sanscrit words. I should like to hear from any Bengali gentlemen here how far they agree in that view. Certainly I have heard it said, and it has been my impression—though, as I stated, I speak with no authority whatever on the subject—that it was a misfortune to Bengali to adopt so much from the Sanscrit. It gave it a sort of deadness and antiquity, rather suggesting a comparison between Johnsonese English and the English of the present day. One would like to hear what the opinion of other gentlemen acquainted with the subject may be.

Then there was a very interesting point which Mr. Mitra has brought out about the tone of the popular ballads in Bengal. That really is a very remarkable and very valuable addition to our information about the feeling

of the country. We are much exposed to criticism, and deservedly exposed to criticism, for it is impossible, especially under a foreign rule like ours, that we should not frequently make mistakes, and a great deal of the criticism we have received has been good for us. The only thing is that it should be done in a friendly spirit, and if one knows from such an authority as Mr. Mitra that as far as he can find out there is a widespread feeling of friendliness towards the English rule, it is a great encouragement to those who desire to see improvements of the administration, and who are stimulated by the feeling that their efforts and their aims are appreciated and understood. Mr. Mitra himself has done a good deal towards carrying out that object. He is an educated Bengali who has always done his best to put a fair and favourable construction upon the intentions and work of the English administration, and for that reason I think he has been doing real good to his country, and that we should therefore welcome him here to-day. I understand he has some intention of residing permanently in England, and I hope it may be so, and that the influence he possesses and the information he has will be very useful to the increasing number of English ladies and Englishmen who desire to know more about the state of feeling in India, and how far the Government which we carry on is appreciated and is popular there.

MR. C. E. BUCKLAND, C.I.E., said that, as an old Bengal officer, and perhaps the only person present born at Chittagong, he had listened with great attention to the lecture. He wished he had known as much about the Bengali literature and language at the beginning of his service as he had heard from the lecturer. It was a revelation to him to hear that the Bengali language had existed, and that its characters were known, in the days of Buddha, between 557 and 477 B.C. He thought the Chairman's remarks with reference to the teaching to Buddha of the Bengali language deserved to be followed up, and he hoped that future speakers would be able to throw some light on the assertion made by the lecturer. He, however, wished to make some remarks on Bengali from quite another point of view. Bengali had been referred to both from the points of view of philology and of literature, but he wished to invite attention to it as the language of the courts and the official language which officers in Bengal were supposed to know. The remark had fallen from Mr. Mitra that Bengali was a language tolerably easy to foreigners, and he rather thought that remark had been used with regard to Mahomedans; but perhaps the officers in Bengal might be regarded as foreigners. He could say from experience that the officers in Bengal regarded Bengali as a distinctly difficult language, which was not at all congenial to them, and he must confess that sometimes they did not make themselves very proficient in it. There used, in the speaker's time, to be great difficulty in getting Bengali taught at all before going out to India, and he was sorry to say that now some young officers went out to Bengal without knowing a single word of the language. According to the rules of the Civil Service Commission it was open to selected candidates to take up *either* Hindustani *or* Bengali as their language, and, as a matter of course, most of them took up Hindustani, partly because it was easier, and partly with a view to being sent to Behar.

They could not, of course, all go to Behar, and the result was that some of these young officers had to be sent to Bengal districts without knowing a single word of the language. Then they had to pass their departmental examination, which took a year or two to do, and they had to try little cases and learn their work in a language which was not congenial to them. Naturally they did not much like it, and they often cut rather a poor figure in the examinations. He could speak from experience both as an examinee and as an examiner, and he thought something ought to be done to improve the standard of knowledge which officers in Bengal had of the language in which they were bound to hear cases in court and administer their districts. He had known cases of officers who had been eight or nine years in the country, and when the time came that they were likely to get a district, they had to go back, as it were, to school to learn the language before they could administer a district. Such things ought not to be. There had been, doubtless, distinguished civilians, able administrators, who certainly could not have made themselves understood to the ordinary ryot in Bengal; they had got on *somehow*, but he did not think that was very satisfactory. They were compelled to listen to the evidence of witnesses whose language they did not really understand, except through the medium of an interpreter. Perhaps nothing in the world would have made them proficient speakers of the language, and the only remedy was to put the evidence in writing. The Bengali characters were not difficult to read when put down on paper. He thought something ought to be done to secure a higher standard among the officials, and that they should not be left to depend upon their court officers for explanations of the evidence, or the writing of statements by the natives.

With regard to the other point—namely, the partition of Bengal, he thought the agitators had made a great mistake in taking up the question of the language. He had always been opposed to the partition of Bengal as quite an unnecessary measure, and as entailing altogether unnecessary expenditure; but he had always thought that the matter of the language was not the proper platform on which to fight the question. The learned lecturer had given instances of languages and countries, and had especially referred to Delhi and Lahore and Hindustani as showing the fact that the same language was spoken in several different provinces, and that it made no difference whatever to the language. He might have gone further, because it was not long ago that the north-west frontier province was carved out from the Punjab. Nobody had suggested that that operation made the slightest difference in the language spoken by the people affected. He also believed that in Madras and Southern India the Tamil language was spoken by the people of more than one province or administration, and he had never heard that that fact made the slightest difference to anybody speaking that language. He thought the agitators would have done much better if they had confined their attention to other matters, and, as had been pointed out by the Chairman, the language question really was a scarecrow which had been put up to be knocked down again.

MR. S. N. SINHA said that it was very interesting to him as a Bengali to listen to the lecture which had been delivered by Mr. Mitra, and to learn

that they were indebted to Englishmen for their first dictionary and first grammar. Coming, as he did, from Lucknow, he was in a position to say that the Bengalis who had settled outside Bengal were perfectly in touch with Bengal, its language and its literature. The fact was that the Bengalis outside Bengal were in no way divided either as regards literature or language, or as regards their traditions. It was not to be forgotten that the Bengalis of the United Provinces and the Punjab were no different from the Western Bengalis, and the only visible effect was that they had cultivated Persian in addition to Bengali. The result was that the travelled Bengali was free from the insular prejudices of the stay-at-home Bengali.

SIR EDWARD CANDY said he wished to make a few remarks with regard to one point which the learned lecturer had mentioned in connection with nursery rhymes. Mr. Mitra had alluded to the Bengali rhymes dealing with the Maratha "bargi," and he apparently thought that "bargi" might be the same as the English "bogie." That was not so. "Bargi" was a well-known Maratha word. When he served in Kathiawar, thirty years ago, his escort consisted partly of a dozen Maratha bargis, and they were descendants of Sivaji's bargis, who raided as far as Calcutta. "Bargi" merely meant a rider, the men who formed the cavalry of Sivaji. Mr. Mitra had not mentioned one illustration, which would have been useful to him as an argument, with regard to the languages of different provinces. A little more than forty years ago there were two districts in the Madras Presidency—North Canara and South Canara. North Canara was ruthlessly taken away from the Madras Presidency and joined to the Bombay Presidency. It was hoped by Sir Bartle Frere that if North Canara came under the Bombay Presidency Karwar would become a famous port and the railway would be taken up thence from the coast. Those hopes were falsified; but, still, North Canara had ever since remained under Bombay and the Canarese language had not suffered, although the Canarese of North Canara were under the Bombay University and the Canarese of South Canara remained under the Madras University, and he thought he might add nobody was any the worse. There was one other point he was sorry Mr. Mitra had not touched upon, and that was whether the Bengali language had suffered in the same way as the language of Western India had suffered, by the unnecessary incorporation of many English words into the vernacular. Many amusing stories could be told of vernacular addresses by educated gentlemen in Western India in Guzerati and in Marathi which had been disfigured by the use of English words in cases in which there could have been no difficulty in using idiomatic vernacular terms and phrases.

MR. PESHOTA D. PATEL said that he desired to accept the challenge, which he understood the lecturer to put forward, with regard to the motives of the Government in making the partition of Bengal. With regard to the question of the language, he had followed the arguments brought forward, and had nothing to say against them, but if he did not take up the challenge respecting the motives of the Government, he thought he would not be doing his duty to his people or to his country. One of the reasons put forward by the agitators was that the partition would affect the language ;



but that was not the main point which the agitators advanced against the partition. One of the speakers had said that it was a sad thing that their agitators had advanced it. He did not know whether that was the right place to enter into the motives of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN thought they could only deal with the question or the partition as affecting the language, and that the motives of the Government was a purely political question.

MR. PATEL said that under those circumstances he would bow to the ruling of the Chairman.

DR. JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., said he might possibly be asked what a Bombay civilian knew about Bengal or the Bengali language; but seeing that his friend, Sir Edward Candy (also an ex-Bombay civilian), had spoken most appositely on the subject, he (Dr. Pollen) thought he was perhaps entitled to say a few words. He had a certain knowledge of Bengali, because he happened to be one of the three Bombay officers selected, about thirty-two years ago, in 1874, to help to rescue the people of Bengal from the terrible famine known as "Sir Richard Temple's famine"; and he remembered distinctly the journey to Bengal and his difficulties with the language, and the first interview he had with the great Sir Richard Temple, who was then the "L.G." Designate of Bengal and the Famine Commissioner. Sir Richard desired to see what he called "the formidable Bombay contingent," which consisted of Mr. Horsley, I.C.S. (now a retired judge), the present Major-General Proudfoot, and the speaker (Dr. Pollen). Mr. Horsley, who was the spokesman and a great objector, said he feared there would be great difficulty with the language; but Sir Richard Temple said, "Oh dear no! I assure you Bengali is the simplest possible language! It is very like Hindustani! For instance, when they say 'hai' ('is') in Hindustani, they say 'che' in Bengali, and when they say 'solah' ('sixteen') in Hindustani, they say 'sholo' in Bengali." Then he turned to the Collector and said, "Am I not right, Mr. L——?" And the Collector replied obsequiously, "Perfectly right, sir!" Mr. Temple then galloped off to inspect some famine works, while the contingent stayed to breakfast. He (Dr. Pollen), in the course of the breakfast, said to the Collector, "Sir Richard seems to know Bengali very well"; whereupon the Collector replied, "Oh no! he does not know a word of it; and what he told you was all wrong. They don't say 'che,' and they don't say 'sholo.'" (Laughter.) However, the Bombay contingent found it necessary, in order to save the people of Bengal from this dreadful famine, to learn something about the language, and during ten months Dr. Pollen had endeavoured to master Bengali, but found it very difficult indeed. First of all he made the painful discovery (denied by Bengalis) that there were some hundred letters, or combinations of letters, in the alphabet which rather put one off to begin with. Mr. Buckland had alluded to the way in which English civil servants neglected the Bengali language; but he gathered that Englishmen had helped to construct the language, and he could not avoid feeling, while Mr. Mitra was speaking of those Englishmen who seemed to have made the Bengali language so intricate, that they did not really know their work; that they had rushed in where angels would have feared to tread; and that they ought not to have

tampered in that audacious manner with a language such as Bengali. He gathered that they had put into the lexicon no less than 80,000 words. He thought they would all agree that such a preposterous abundance of words was absolutely unnecessary for any language. A good working language could be made with a few hundreds; but those Englishmen had apparently enriched and complicated the Bengali language by stealing from the Sanscrit, and possibly also borrowing from the English. The same thing happened in the case of Scindi. When the English took possession of Scinde there was no such thing as a written Scindi language, and the work of inventing characters for the Scindi language, spoken by the people of Scinde, was entrusted to two Englishmen—viz., Sir Barrow Ellis and Mr. Sturt. Of course, the first thing these gentlemen had to do was to devise an alphabet. With the simple Roman alphabet ready at hand, one would have imagined that these Englishmen would have selected the Roman alphabet as the best and clearest alphabet, seeing that it was the outcome of the combined genius of Greece and Rome. But not a bit of it. They proceeded to mix up Persian and Arabic, and began by making four "d's" and then four "t's" with different dots, and ultimately a most complicated and confusing Scindi alphabet was evolved. Things were no doubt done with the best intentions in all these matters, and it was unquestionably with the best intentions that Bengal had been divided. In the particular circumstances of the case there could be little doubt in the mind of every thinking man that the duplication of administrative machinery in Bengal was the right thing. Possibly it was done in the wrong way, because if people's language or people's customs were to be interfered with, the first thing to be done was to carry the people with the reform, and not set them against it; and, as they all knew, the Indian people were people who could be easily led to right conclusions by a little tact and judgment. It was an administrative error to provoke them to be unreasonable. In conclusion, he wished to express his appreciation of the admirable paper that Mr. Mitra had given them. Mr. Mitra was a man who was really working heart and soul for what he believed to be the good of his country, and he was determined, if he could, to carry his fellow-countrymen with him. (Applause.)

MR. MITRA (in replying on the discussion) said that Dr. Pollen was in error when he stated that the Bengali alphabet had 300 letters; the Bengali alphabet was nothing new—practically the Sanscrit alphabet. Both the consonants and the vowels were the same. Dr. Pollen had said that Dr. Carey, the compiler of the dictionary, had no business to put 80,000 words into it. He was not surprised, considering that Dr. Pollen was an apostle of Esperanto, and perhaps wanted all languages limited to 300 words! Then Dr. Pollen had said that Englishmen had been tampering with the Bengali language. Being himself a Bengali, he thought he would have detected if there had been any tampering with the language. Sir Edward Candy had asked whether any English words were used in Bengali. Certainly there were some English words used, and Mr. Mitra had found in his thirty years' study of his mother-tongue that they could not produce a single Bengali word to express, for instance, "railway-engine." They drew from the storehouse of Sanscrit, but could not convey any idea of what it meant,

so they had to use the word "engine." That was a specimen of an English word that had come into use in Bengali, just as the English had taken such a word as "sepoy"; but he did not think that was tampering with the language. There were certain things which were expressed more easily in that way.

Another point that had been made was as to the difference between written and spoken Bengali. No doubt there was a great deal of difference between them, but he did not think the difference was so great as outsiders, not Bengalis, generally thought. The peculiar pronunciation of spoken Bengali made it seem to the foreigner a different language. The Chairman had referred to Bankim Chandra's novels, and in those novels the characters were made to speak the modern Bengali. He found that the language of the gentleman class in England differed from the language of the labouring classes, and he supposed there would be the same difference with regard to Bengali. In the same way a Persian gentleman spoke a different Persian to the Persian labourer.

Then, with regard to Bengali ladies discussing Herbert Spencer and Mill, he would point out that there was a large number of Bengali ladies who were graduates of the Calcutta University, and some of them had taken their M.A. degree. The leading Bengali magazine, *Bharati*, was edited by a Bengali lady, and had been for the last thirty years, since it was started by a lady. If they translated the contents of leading Bengali magazines into English, they would compare favourably with English magazines. If they took a copy of some of the leading Bengali magazines, they would find they contained discussions of such subjects as protoplasm and wireless telegraphy, and would refer to some of the greatest works of the German, French, and English, giving quotations with chapter and page from the various authors. It was not a mere reference, but the books had been read and digested by these ladies, and they had brought out the contents in their mother-tongue for the education of their sisters, who, according to the custom of the country, did not come out. He had himself been surprised to find that the Persian work, the "*Vizier-i-Lankaran*," was translated into Bengali. Those gentlemen who had read Persian, and took an interest in it, would know that that was one of the masterpieces of Persian literature. He had spent most of his life at Hyderabad, a great Mahomedan centre in India, and his attention was first drawn to the excellence of that book by a translation of it published by a Bengali lady belonging to the Tagore family. He was proud to refer to the great progress which had been made by the Bengali ladies.

Then Sir Edward Candy had drawn attention to the word "*bargi*," which he said had been suggested as an equivalent of the word "*bogie*"; but he only meant that the words were similar. He could only say that the word was used in some of their nursery rhymes to lull the children to sleep.

Then came the last and most important point, and that was for the philologist and scientist to discover—viz., the origin of the Bengali characters. He might say without fear of contradiction that within the last ten years it had been proved to the satisfaction of Western scholars that Bengali literature was older than had at first been thought. At first

the Western scholars, headed by Dr. Grierson, said that Bengali literature was not older than the fourteenth century; but Dr. Grierson now held the view that it was as old as the twelfth century. With regard to the Bengali alphabet, he had given the meeting the authority of the "Lalita Vistara" that Vishvamitra taught the great Buddha the Bengali characters. It was for the philologists and great savants of Europe to find how much weight was to be given to the "Lalita Vistara." Then they knew that the Chinese priest, Fa Hian, visited Tamluk in the third century of the Christian era, 1,600 years ago, and went to Bengal. That could be traced, and the Chinese priest's visit to Bengal was an historical fact accepted by Professor Wilson.

In conclusion, he thanked the meeting for the patient hearing they had accorded him.

On the motion of MR. THORNTON, a hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the lecturer and to the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of Mr. Mitra and himself, the proceedings terminated.

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Since the meeting was held, Mr. D. N. Reid writes: "Although I was present at the meeting of the East India Association on Monday last, I did not get an opportunity of speaking on the above-mentioned subject. I therefore trust that you will kindly publish this letter in your Journal. A former Governor-General of India, my relative, Sir John Macpherson, writing on January 12, 1786, from Calcutta to his old friend, Professor Adam Fergusson of Edinburgh, said: 'Curious are the treasures in literature and the oblivious history of nations that are dawning upon us from the researches of Sir William Jones and others in Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian. Even Anacreon and Euclid's best and happiest labours may have been long asleep in the translations of this country. And what seems to complete our prospect of elegant and useful information is that the present Governor of Chinsura, who was for seven years in Japan, has brought in the wonders of that country. Their encyclopædia is in his hands, and in some of the arts of life and government those islanders of Asia, those Anglo-Asiatics, have left all other nations far behind.' The above quotation, from a letter written 120 years ago, is extremely interesting, owing to the fact that on the very day we were listening to Mr. Mitra's lecture on the Bengali language 600 Japanese bluejackets were being entertained in London. The visit of these Japanese sailors is an object-lesson which ought not to be neglected, and this letter is written by me to impress upon the Bengali the necessity of striving to make himself as enterprising as the Japanese sailor and fisherman of to-day.

"I have always had the greatest admiration for Gallio, who refrained from interposing when Sosthenes was seized and beaten, since he doubtless considered that the Jews would not be the worse for being taught to keep their disputes about 'a question of words and names' to themselves. 'Gallio cared for none of those things.' This, however, is a digression.

"In his lecture Mr. Mitra referred to another of my relatives, the

Marchioness of Hastings, who, 'finding that the Bengali nations could not supply a single native child's book in Bengali, established in 1817 the Calcutta School-book Society.' Now, I am painfully aware of the fact that a discussion on the Bengali language is just as unprofitable as was the fierce controversy that raged for years on the authenticity of Ossian's poems. Boswell, in his 'Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides,' tells us that it was while crossing in a boat from Skye to Raasay to visit the maternal grandfather of the Marchioness of Hastings, that Dr. Johnson first opened fire on the question of the authenticity of Ossian's poems by attacking my great-great-grandfather, the Rev. Dr. MacQueen, who was an acknowledged authority on the subject. 'Dr. Johnson asked him as to Fingal. He (Dr. MacQueen) said he could repeat some passages in the original; that he heard his grandfather had a copy of it; but that he could not affirm that Ossian composed all that poem as it is now published. This came pretty much to what Dr. Johnson had maintained, though he goes farther and contends that it is no better than such an epic poem as he could make from the song of Robin Hood—that is to say, that except a few passages there is nothing truly ancient but the names and some vague traditions. Dr. MacQueen alleged that Homer was made up of detached fragments. Dr. Johnson denied this, observing that it had been one work originally, and that you could not put a book of the "Iliad" out of its place, and he believed the same might be said of the "Odyssey." Now, the favourite book of the great Napoleon was Ossian's poems, and yet the above quotation will show that, however interesting it may be to the ethnologist and to the student of the science of languages, it is, to say the least, thoroughly useless to the man of action. And I repeat that if the Bengali wants to make himself respected as a man of action he must abandon the gift of verbosity, and take a leaf out of the tongue-tied Japanese fisherman's book.

"I must apologise for having sandwiched into this letter remarks about Ossian, by stating that India has for more than a century been known as 'Scotland's Churchyard'; and as the Indians love the music of the bagpipes, which they find cheering and inspiring, I would like to see the bagpipes adopted as the national musical instrument of our great Dependency. By this simple means a lasting bond of union would be created between India and Scotland."

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

PAPERS ON SOCIAL REFORM, BEING THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF K. SRINIVASA RAU, DEDICATED (BY PERMISSION) TO LORD AMPTHILL, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

SIR,

It is quite refreshing to come across such a thorough-going, outspoken, and broad-minded social reformer as Mr. K. Srinivasa Rau. Already distinguished by a co-operation with a Mussulman soldier (most honourable to them both) in the production of a little book ("My Jubilee Visit to London" \*), which, to my mind, is quite unique in its human interest, and, as I said before, "better calculated to improve the relations between Indians and English than any book I have seen," he has now taken another step towards improving the relations between Englishmen and Indians by "co-operating" with the late deservedly popular Governor of Madras in producing this little volume. We may fairly call it "co-operation," because without Lord Amphill's friendly encouragement it would probably never have seen the light, and the world would have missed some very shrewd and pithy reflections on the almost insuperable difficulties that beset the path of the social reformer in India, some of which I shall take the liberty of quoting for the information, and perhaps even amusement, of your readers.

Advocates of women's suffrage might fortify their arguments by the author's candid confession, "I have not been able to convince myself that I am superior to every woman"; and his contemptuous retort on mere talkers, "No use of saying that you hold advanced and liberal views on these

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1900, pp. 209-211.

questions if you *do* nothing towards giving practical effect to them."

From his description of Hinduism, it would appear that as a religion it is much like the Church of England—extremely broad and comprehensive; you may believe in very nearly anything and almost in nothing. "A believer in a personal God, like a Mádva, is a Hindu, as well as one who does not believe in a personal God, like the Adwaiti," and "a man who believes in eternal hell for eternally wicked souls is quite as good a Hindu as a man who believes in no such thing." It will astonish some people to learn that the Mádva sect look upon Adwaitis as Prachinna-Boudhas *and* atheists, association with whom involves the purification of a bath!

The cause of the hundreds of millions of Hindu widows who are doomed by an evil custom, and *not*, I believe, by the Hindu religion, to a life of misery or prostitution, never had a more earnest advocate than Mr. Srinivasa Rau. "Do something," he says to his fellow-countrymen, "to stay the tears of the child-widow," at least. "When you die, better be in a position to say to yourself that your life has not been spent in money-making alone, but that you have done something, however small, towards lessening the misery around you." Rather than countenance such an abominable custom, he boldly attacks the authority of the Shastras themselves, and declines to be bound by them if it is true that they forbid the remarriage of even virgin-widows, a view which is stoutly controverted by the venerable Madrassi Dewan Bahadur Ragoonatha Rau. Shastras or no Shastras, it is impossible that such "methods of barbarism" can stand before English education.

The author's attack on theosophy, and even Mrs. Besant as its ruling high priestess, is curiously interesting, his great objection being to what he calls its mysticism and spiritualism, by which he seems to mean the "spiritual" as opposed to the "material" view of the universe. Evidently the "Coulomb exposure" and the "Collapse of Koot

Hoomi" were more disastrous to theosophy in Madras, at any rate, than was generally known, and it is possible it might never have recovered but for the almost miraculous conversion of Mrs. Besant. Sent out like Balaam to "curse," or, in modern language, expose, the theosophists, she not only blessed them altogether, but actually succeeded in swallowing that weird-looking creature Madame Blavatsky and all her works—fraudulent miracles included. As our author says, there has been no satisfactory explanation of this surprising event. However that may be, there can be no doubt that Mrs. Besant has by her surpassing eloquence electrified theosophy into life again, but, perhaps, chiefly in India, where, as Mr. Srinivasa Rau very candidly says, the Hindu "will take the first place for credulity among the nations of the world." He has, no doubt, good reason for dreading the effect on his fellow-countrymen of a religion which is perhaps too much inclined to withdraw itself from the practical side of life; but he certainly seems to me to go too far when he says that if "you wish to destroy a nation and make it a people of unthinking and credulous fools you need impose upon it nothing but this spiritualism." I cannot think that the Hindus "prove this to demonstration," and certainly Mrs. Besant, with all her mysticism, is soundly practical in the conduct of life. But it is true enough that the Hindu has suffered perhaps more than other people from a surfeit of ghosts and bloodthirsty gods, and it may well be that Western materialism, whatever its faults, has cleared the atmosphere of some phantoms of the imagination, and may be useful in leading the Hindu to think more of the material well-being of the people, and less of the virtue of mere contemplation.

It is wonderfully encouraging to me to find a Brahmin—a member of the most exclusive religious sect in the world so thoroughly imbued with all the ideas, I will not say of Christ, but, at any rate, of Buddha. It seems almost impossible to realize that it is a Brahmin who says that "the only safe principle is equal opportunities for all—



recognition of merit wherever found," entirely regardless of caste ; and the extraordinary difference between his cordial appreciation of Lord Ampthill's rule in Madras and Sir F. Lely's pessimistic account\* of the government of Bombay even under such a popular ruler as Lord Lamington is a most remarkable corroboration of the truth of the latter's view that the chief thing wanted in India is personal sympathy between the rulers and the ruled. Forty years ago I remember writing in a Madras journal—which has no doubt long since passed into oblivion—that what the ordinary Hindu demands is a *personal* and present deity on the spot that he can see with his own eyes and speak to whenever he likes ; not an impersonal red-tape-ridden mechanical Government at headquarters, and still less one that dwells remote on the tops of inaccessible mountains. Lord Ampthill won all hearts, *not* by immense ability, but by his honest attempt to get at the people themselves, and by never-failing sympathy with all classes. And young as he still is, it is a question if we have ever had in Madras a more successful Governor since Sir Thomas Munro laid down his life in the district he had served so well. It might be well if his rule for the conduct of business were impressed upon the Bombay Secretariat. When a ryot comes with some impossible request "you can at least give him kind words."

An old Madras civilian of great experience writes : " I think Srinivasa Rau's pamphlet is a wonderful production. That a Brahmin should attack the priesthood, advocate raising the lower classes, and point out the foolishness and wickedness of many caste restrictions is indeed remarkable. It is more so that he should apparently carry his audience with him. He refrains, too, altogether from attacking the Government after the fashion of the Bengali Babu, and justly points out that he and his country are under great obligations to the English."

J. P.

\* "Suggestions for the Better Governing of India."

THE KATHIAWAR CASES—JUDGMENT OF THE PRIVY  
COUNCIL.

THIS important judgment of the Privy Council on the above appeal cases is as follows. The one is the appeal of Soni Hemchand Derchand of Jethur, in Kathiawar, against Azam Sakarlal Chhotamlal, and the other is the appeal of Taluka of Kotda Sangani against the State of Gondal.

These two appeals were heard together. The first (under the special leave of H.M. in Council) is from three orders of the Court of the Agent to the Governor, Kathiawar, in the Bombay Presidency (February 22, September 8, and September 22, 1902). The second appeal is from an order of the Governor in Council of Bombay (January 14, 1904). The question of the first appeal is whether an appeal lies from the court of the agent to the Governor to the King in Council. The question of the second appeal is, whether an appeal lies from the Governor in Council to the King in Council or to the Secretary of State.

The subject of the first of the appeals arises out of a suit instituted in the court of the assistant political agent of Sorath Prant, in Kathiawar (the term Prant meaning an administrative district). The grounds of the plaintiff's claim were that in February, 1893, he had advanced money to the late Darbar Shri Vala Naja Mamaiya, a shareholder in the chiefship of talukdari of Jetpur Chital, in Kathiawar, for the purpose of paying off debts due by the latter, who was a talukdar of the sixth class, and that the plaintiff had acquired possession; that Vala Naja died in May, 1901; and that the plaintiff's rights as mortgagee had been interfered with or threatened by the nominal defendant as manager for the substantial defendants, the successors of the deceased chief. The plaintiff prayed for a declaration of his rights and an injunction. In effect, therefore, the suit was one to enforce a mortgage made by a deceased chief against his successors. The assistant political agent dismissed the suit, basing his decision upon a notification

of the Government of India in the Foreign Department of June 22, 1900, which laid down, for the guidance of the agency courts in Kathiawar, the rule that: "No suit shall lie against a tributary chief or talukdar . . . in respect of any debt contracted by the predecessor of such chief or talukdar or subsharer, unless (a) the claim has been admitted by the tributary chief or talukdar or subsharer; or (b) the debt has received the written approval of the political agent."

The second appeal arises out of a suit instituted by the Thakor of Korda-Sangani (a Kathiawar State) in the Court of the assistant political agent, Halar Prant, against the State of Gondal, a State of the first class, to redeem and recover possession of a village said to have been transferred by way of mortgage to the latter State by the former. The suit was dismissed by the first Court, and that dismissal was upheld by the political agent, Kathiawar. Upon appeal, the Governor of Bombay in Council reversed that decision, and gave a decree for redemption. A further appeal was brought to the Secretary of State in Council, who reversed the decision of the Governor in Council.

These two appeals were heard together. The question common to both cases, and the only question which has been argued, is whether an appeal lies to His Majesty in Council, and the answer to that question depends mainly upon the true relation of the Kathiawar States and their people to the British Crown, and upon the nature and character of the control exercised by the British Indian authorities over the administration of justice in those States.

The real question now before their Lordships was, whether in these and similar cases the action of tribunals in Kathiawar and of the Government in Council on appeal from those tribunals is properly to be regarded as judicial or as political. And at this point a distinction arises between the two cases of appeal, because the first of them

has been disposed of as a civil, the second as a political case. "As to the cases classed as political, their Lordships think there is no room for doubt. The rules issued from time to time for the guidance of the political agent treat the disposal of such cases as falling within his "diplomatic or controlling function," and direct him to dispose of them "as he thinks proper." And all the other provisions relating to such cases indicate purely political, and not judicial, action. The question relating to cases classed as civil gives rise to more difficulty, but, upon the whole, their Lordships are of opinion that no substantial distinction can be drawn for the present purpose between the two kinds of cases.

There is not necessarily any inherent distinction between the nature of political cases and those treated as civil. It depends in some cases solely upon who are parties to the suit. The two cases now before their Lordships illustrate this. The first of them was a suit brought to enforce a mortgage, the second was a suit to redeem a mortgage; yet one of the cases is civil, and the other political, because in the latter a talukdar above the fourth class is a party.

The political agent is empowered to transfer political cases to the civil class, and dispose of them as such, and this power he is encouraged and, indeed, directed to exercise freely.

The instructions from time to time issued by Government as to the disposal of cases suggests strongly that the exercise of jurisdiction both by the political agent and by the courts below him is to be guided by policy rather than by strict law. This is illustrated by the notification of Government of June 22, 1900, already referred to, on the strength of which the first of the present cases (a civil case) was decided. That notification appears to follow upon a series of earlier instructions substantially to the same effect. It lays down that "no suit shall lie against a tributary chief or talukdar, or against any subsharer of a tributary chief or talukdar, in respect of any debt contracted by the prede-

cessor of such chief or talukdar or subsharer unless " one or other of two conditions is complied with, one of which conditions is the approval of the political agent. In the grounds of appeal before their Lordships questions are raised as to the construction and effect of the notification just cited ; but, quite irrespective of those questions, there is no doubt as to its validity as a direction by the Executive Government to its own political officers in a foreign State, and it may be used as an example of the kind of rules by which the exercise of jurisdiction is to be governed.

The appeal from the Kathiawar courts to the Governor of Bombay in Council might, perhaps, be regarded as a neutral circumstance ; but the mode in which such appeals have been disposed of has been political rather than judicial. That disposal is described in a minute (dated October 11, 1877) of the then Governor of Bombay as being " done in the political department of the Government itself ; that is, by the Secretary to the Government in that department under the supervision of the member of Council to whom . . . the political business is assigned."

The further appeal to the Secretary of State in Council is a fact of clearer import. In Lord Salisbury's despatch on March 23, 1876, the practice of such appeals is dealt with as a thing at that date already fully established, and it continues to the present day in civil as well as in political cases. This system of appeal to the Secretary of State affords strong evidence that the intention of Government is and always has been that the jurisdiction exercised in connection with Kathiawar should be political and not judicial in its character.

What occurred in and after 1876 points to the same conclusion. In the despatch of March 23 in that year, already referred to, the Secretary of State, Lord Salisbury, suggested that an Act should be passed, general in character, but intended specially for the case of Kathiawar, enabling the Governor in Council, when dealing with appeals, to refer any state of facts or law to the High Court for its opinion. The Bombay Government opposed the suggestion,

and in an official letter of August 22, 1878, stated their grounds of objection. After distinguishing between "a system of government according to the will of the ruler," and "a system of government according to law," it was said: "The cases which come before this Government for adjudication are cases which have arisen in States still administered on the former principle." "Such cases can only be justly disposed of on principles of equity in the fullest sense of the term, and not in the circumscribed sense which is familiar to the practice of the High Courts; and sometimes consideration must be given to the political expediency which underlies the relation in which the Government stands to the protected States. The objections so stated prevailed. In 1879 Lord Cranbrook renewed the suggestion of his predecessor, but effect has never been given to it.

The conclusion is that the appeals were dismissed, but no order as to the costs.

INDIA: INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, 1904-1905.\*

NET REVENUE AFTER DEDUCTIONS.

	£
Land ... ..	18,226,402
Forest ... ..	1,599,162
Tributes from Native States ... ..	421,303
Opium ... ..	4,050,999
Taxation from salt ... ..	5,093,466
Stamps ... ..	3,697,102
Excise ... ..	5,306,198
Provincial rate ... ..	2,820,358
Customs ... ..	4,267,032
Assess taxes ... ..	1,263,098
Registration ... ..	337,921
Post-Office ... ..	56,167
Telegraphs—	
Receipts ... ..	£897,923
Charges ... ..	902,628

\* See return by the order of the House of Commons, April 9, 1906.

Railways	...	...	...	...	...	£ 2,105,438
Irrigation	...	...	...	...	...	284,683
Mint	...	...	...	...	...	88,533
Exchange	...	...	...	£94,065		
Compensation allowance to officers	...	...	...	350,468		
Charge	...	...	...	256,403		

## NET EXPENDITURE AFTER DEDUCTIONS.

Debt services	...	...	...	...	...	£ 797,366
Army charges	...	...	...	...	...	19,214,763
Military works	...	...	...	...	...	936,137
Special defence works	...	...	...	...	...	128,295
Collection of revenue	...	...	...	...	...	5,199,542
Civil departments—						
General administration	...	...	...	£1,475,436		
Law Courts, deducting receipts	...	...	...	2,083,958		
Jails, deducting receipts	...	...	...	461,144		
Police, deducting receipts	...	...	...	2,830,422		
Marine, including river navigation	...	...	...	451,654		
Education, deducting receipts	...	...	...	1,285,261		
Ecclesiastical	...	...	...	121,039		
Medical, deducting receipts	...	...	...	913,956		
Political charges	...	...	...	790,339		
Scientific and minor departments, deducting receipts	...	...	...	439,221		
						10,852,430

## Miscellaneous civil charges—

Territorial and political pensions	...	...	£248,381			
Absentee allowances	...	...	218,744			
Superannuation allowances, deducting receipts	...	...	2,719,360			
Stationery and printing, deducting receipts	...	...	503,165			
Miscellaneous—						
Charges	...	...	£312,389			
Receipts	...	...	333,310			
						3,668,729
Civil works, deducting receipts	...	...	4,285,204			
Construction of railways	...	...	6,250			
Famine relief and insurance	...	...	1,000,000			

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

Lord Cromer has issued his reports\* on Egypt and the Soudan for 1905. They are full of interest and very complete, with a copious index. His reports on Egypt are divided into the following heads: (1) General; (2) Economics; (3) Finance; (4) Irrigation; (5) Communications; (6) Public Works; (7) Administration; (8) Public Health; (9) Justice; (10) Education; (11) Science and Art; (12) Conclusion. He says, in consequence of the "Anglo-French Agreement, the year 1905 opened under auspices of a peculiarly favourable nature for the causes of Egyptian progress and reform. I think it may be said that this has been realized. During the past year the whole machine of Government worked very smoothly." "Improvements in various directions have been effected. There is every reason to believe that this steady and uniform rate of progress will be maintained in future years, but nowhere must there be undue haste."

Under the heading "General" there is the following interesting paragraph on the Sinai Peninsula, which has caused considerable trouble. He says: "The whole of this Peninsula is a vast waste land. Only a few shrubs and trees grow in the 'wadis' (valleys). Water from several springs flows for some distance from the hills, and then disappears in the sand, without any considerable benefit being derived from it. The population is very sparse. No regular census has ever been made, but it is believed that there are about 30,000 inhabitants in the Peninsula. These are all of Arab origin, save the small Gebalia tribe, who are believed to be descendants of the troops sent by the Emperor Justinian early in the sixth century to defend the Sinai convent against the attacks of the indigenous population. The Bedouins have their own system of justice, founded on old tribal customs," some of

\* Egypt, No. 1, 1906, presented to Parliament, April, 1906.



which are as follows : The system of taking blood-money and hereditary "vendetta" exists in full force. If a man kills another in time of peace, the relations of the murdered man, beginning from the father to the fifth generation, have their right to revenge, or pardon against the receipt of blood-money from the murderer or from his near relatives to the fifth generation. Should any one of the near relations of the murdered man accept the blood-money, all the other relations are obliged to accept, and revenge by shedding of blood becomes illegal. The blood-money ("El Madda"), according to the Sinai laws, is fixed at forty-one camels. It is generally paid in instalments during periods varying from a month to a year or more. If the murdered man was of the same tribe as the murderer, the latter, or his near relations, have to give a girl in marriage to one of the murdered man's relations, without receiving the usual dowry. She remains with him until she brings forth a child, when she becomes free to go back to her tribe, or to remain with her temporary husband ; in the latter case the husband has to pay the usual dowry and to renew the marriage. Five camels may be substituted for the girl. If a man kills another in a desolate place, and denies the crime, but is subsequently found guilty, he is fined four blood-moneys. In this case, should the relations of the murdered man take a revenge by killing one man of the tribe of the murderer, they still have the right to receive three blood - moneys. They generally take one blood-money, forgive for another, and give up the third as alms for the souls of their dead." Another custom relates to the raiding for camels. The judicial system is very elaborate and intricate. Another curious custom is in regard to witnesses. There are four different kinds of oaths accepted in the courts of justice. "The first of these consists in the Judge drawing a circle, making the witness stand in the centre, and repeating the name of God six times, after which he is called upon to state his evidence. Under the second system the plaintiff places his hand on

the defender's head and makes him repeat the name of God six times before giving his evidence. Under the third system the plaintiff places his hand in the defendant's girdle, and makes him repeat the name of God three times before giving his evidence. Under the fourth system the witness takes a branch of a tree in his hands, and says, 'By this branch, and the Lord who makes it green and dry, I give this evidence.'

"As regards marriage customs, it appears that the usual dowry of a bride is five camels, paid to her father by the bridegroom. On the receipt of the dowry the father takes a small branch of a tree in his hand and addresses the bridegroom in the following terms: 'This is the branch of my daughter, whom I give you in marriage according to the law of God and His Prophet; you are responsible to supply her with food and clothing, and bring her all she requires, provided you can afford it.' The girl is never asked her wish as regards her first husband. The newly-married couple spend their honeymoon in the hills, away from their encampment. If the girl does not like her husband, she deserts him, and takes refuge in the house of one of her relations, who endeavours to obtain a divorce for her. A divorced woman is never forced to marry any man against her will."

A commandant and inspector, with full control over the affairs of the Peninsula, has been appointed in order to carry out various improvements. A sum of about £E5,000 has been provided for the current year. Lord Cromer says: "There is every reason to hope and believe that by the adoption of certain proposed measures a distinct improvement will soon be visible in the condition of the Sinai Peninsula. It is probable that somewhat later the construction of a telegraph line, and possibly of a road for motor cars, to Nekhl will be considered."

There is much interesting information under the other various heads, but from want of space we are unable to give it.

## THE SOUDAN.

The report under this head is subdivided into the following sections: (1) General; (2) Economics; (3) Finance; (4) Communications, including Railways, Nile Navigation, Roads, Posts, and Telegraphs; (5) Public Works; (6) Administration; (7) Public Health; (8) Courts of Justice; (9) Education; (10) Provincial Administrations; (10) Science and Art, including the Museum, Archæology, the Amharic Language; (12) Conclusion. In the course of Lord Cromer's report on this head he points out two of the principal difficulties which the Government of the Soudan now has to encounter. These are, the scarcity of labour and the method of providing capital for the construction of large public works. The climate, the vast extent of the country, the absence of any easy means of communication save by the river, the want of water, and the sparseness of the population, are all so many natural obstacles which stand in the way of the rapid development of the Soudan. Time and good government will either remove or, at all events, modify the intensity of some of these obstacles. On the other hand, as compared to Egypt, the Soudan starts with one supreme advantage in the race for regeneration—it is relieved from the incubus of internationalism. It was an auspicious day, not only for the Soudan, but also for Egypt, when the eminent statesman who presided over the British Foreign Office seven years ago decided to brush aside all the numerous theoretical objections which could be urged against the Anglo-Egyptian Convention of January 19, 1899. That Convention forms the constitutional charter of the Soudan, and is the cornerstone of the foundations on which the fabric now springing into existence has been based. It was at the time foreseen that the creation of a status, hitherto unknown in the political or diplomatic world, would in practice give rise to numerous anomalies; but Lord Salisbury held that any inconvenience arising from these anomalies was of trifling importance when compared with the advantages which the

three countries principally concerned—Great Britain, Egypt, and the Soudan—would derive from the acquisition of freedom from the complicated network of international institutions in which the Egyptian Administration was, and to a great extent still is, entangled. Time has justified his foresight."

Lord Cromer concludes his Report on the Soudan with a warning similar to that which he has given in dealing with the affairs of Egypt: "There must be no undue haste. The progress of the Soudan depends upon steady, continuous, unostentatious, and combined efforts along the lines of a well-defined policy, from which there should be no divergence."

#### ENGLAND AND THE CONGO.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE INDEPENDENT  
STATE OF THE CONGO, MODIFYING THE AGREEMENT SIGNED AT  
BRUSSELS MAY 12, 1894.

*Signed at London May 9, 1906.*

ARTICLE I.—The lease of the territories granted by Great Britain to His Majesty King Leopold II., Sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo, by Article II. of the Agreement signed at Brussels on May 12, 1894, is hereby annulled. No claims shall be put forward by either party in connection with this lease, or with any right derived therefrom. His Majesty King Leopold shall, however, continue during his reign to occupy, on the same conditions as at present, the territory now held by him, and known as the Lado Enclave. Within six months of the termination of His Majesty's occupation the Enclave shall be handed over to the Soudanese Government. Officials shall be appointed by the Soudanese and Congo State Governments to assess the value of such houses, stores, and other material improvements as may, by common agreement, be handed over with the Enclave, the amount agreed upon being paid to the Congo State by the Soudanese Government. The Enclave comprises the territory bounded by a

line drawn from a point situated on the west shore of Lake Albert, immediately to the south of Mahagi, to the nearest point of the watershed between the Nile and Congo basins; thence the boundary follows that watershed up to its intersection from the north with the thirtieth meridian east of Greenwich, and that meridian up to its intersection with the parallel  $5^{\circ} 30'$  of north latitude, whence it runs along that parallel to the Nile; thence it follows the Nile southward to Lake Albert and the western shore of Lake Albert down to the point above indicated south of Mahagi.

ARTICLE II.—The boundary between the Independent State of the Congo on the one hand and the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan on the other, starting from the point of intersection from the south of the meridian of  $30^{\circ}$  longitude east of Greenwich, with the watershed between the Nile and the Congo, shall follow the line of that watershed in a general north-westerly direction until it reaches the frontier between the Independent State of the Congo and French Congo.

Nevertheless, the strip of territory twenty-five kilometres in breadth stretching from the watershed between the Nile and the Congo up to the western shore of Lake Albert, and including the port of Mahagi, of which a lease was granted to the Independent State of the Congo by Article II. of the Agreement of May 12, 1894, shall continue in the possession of that State on the conditions laid down in that Article.

ARTICLE III.—The Government of the Independent State of the Congo undertake not to construct, or allow to be constructed, any work on or near the Semliki or Isango River which would diminish the volume of water entering Lake Albert, except in agreement with the Soudanese Government.

ARTICLE IV.—A concession shall be given, in terms to be agreed upon between the Soudanese and Congo State Governments, to an Anglo-Belgian Company for the construction and working of a railway from the frontier of the

Independent State of the Congo to the navigable channel of the Nile, near Lado, it being understood that, when His Majesty's occupation of the Enclave determines, this railway shall be wholly subject to the jurisdiction of the Soudanese Government. The actual direction of the line will be determined jointly by the Soudanese and Congo State Governments.

In order to provide the capital expenditure required for the construction of this railway, the Egyptian Government undertake to guarantee a rate of interest of 3 per cent. on a sum which is not to exceed £800,000.

ARTICLE V.—A port open to general commerce, with suitable provision for the storing and transhipment of merchandise, shall be established at the terminus of the railway. When His Majesty's occupation of the Enclave determines, a Congolese or Belgian Company shall be permitted to possess a commercial depot and quays on the Nile at this port. Such depot and quays shall, however, in no case lead to the acquisition of extra-territorial rights, and all individuals in or connected with them in the Soudan, shall be wholly subject to Soudanese laws and regulations.

ARTICLE VI.—Trading vessels flying the Congolese or Belgian flag shall have the right of navigating and trading on the waters of the Upper Nile, no distinction as regards trading facilities being made between them and British or Egyptian trading vessels, but such vessels shall in no case acquire extra-territorial rights, and shall be wholly subject to Soudanese laws and regulations.

ARTICLE VII.—Persons and merchandise passing through Soudanese or Egyptian territory from the Congo State, or going to it, will, for purposes of transit or transport on the Nile, or on the Soudanese or Egyptian railway systems, be treated similarly to Egyptian or British persons and merchandise coming from or going to British possessions.

ARTICLE VIII.—All disputes which may occur hereafter in connection with the limits of the frontiers of the Inde-

pendent State of the Congo, including the boundary laid down in the first paragraph of Article II. of the present Agreement, shall, in the event of the parties not being able to come to an amicable understanding, be submitted to the arbitration of the Hague Tribunal, whose decision shall be binding on both parties, it being, however, understood that this clause can in no way whatever, be applied to any questions regarding the lease mentioned in Article II. of the Agreement signed at Brussels on May 12, 1894, and in Article I. of the present Agreement.

#### NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN NIGERIA.\*

I. NORTHERN NIGERIA.—A mineral survey of this Protectorate has been carried out under the general supervision of the Director of the Imperial Institute, which was proposed by the High Commissioner, Sir F. Lugard, under the sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1904. A staff was therefore appointed, the members of which were to spend eight months of each year in exploring mineral deposits. Specimens of all important minerals having been collected, were forwarded to the Imperial Institute for chemical analysis, technical trial, and valuation. The first set of specimens has been reported upon. The minerals are of considerable interest, and may be of use locally and of value as exports. Salt deposits occur in various forms in several parts of the Protectorate, also "potash" and limestone capable of furnishing good lime for mortar and even for hydraulic cement; also tin deposits. It is probable that as soon as suitable transport is provided, Northern Nigeria may become an important tin-producing country. There has been discovered monazitic sand in certain river-beds, but it is yet to be ascertained whether these sands are likely to be available as a commercial source of thorium in competition with the similar sands of Brazil and North Carolina.

\* See Colonial Reports—Miscellaneous, Nos. 32, 33.

2. SOUTHERN NIGERIA.—In the two reports published during the years 1903-1904 and 1904-1905 explorations have been made in selected areas of districts hitherto unknown geologically. Deposits of brown coal have been discovered capable of use as fuel and of illuminating properties, also galleria, containing silver, tinstone of good quality, monazite, valuable as a source of the thoria used in the manufacture of incandescent gas-mantles, and limestone of excellent quality, which will be of special value, as it occurs near the river-banks, and can therefore be readily transported. This is the third and last year for the survey, but the results so far obtained abundantly indicate the existence of mineral wealth, which would justify a continuance of the survey in order that the whole territory may be explored. There are indications that silver, gold, and tin may be found.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

EDWARD ARNOLD, MADDOX STREET, LONDON, W., 1905.

1. *In the Desert*, by L. MARCH PHILLIPPS. This is an admirable book. It not only gives an account of a journey made by the author and Mr. Hugh Hoare in 1899, into the desert, but also describes the slow but sure conquest and occupation of North Africa by the French, in a way that has not as yet been better done in English. The French conquest of the Algerian pirates, the author points out, once begun, had to go on to its logical conclusion by the conquest of the interior; but it was not until 1872 that the enormous French expansion in Africa began. While the English do everything in their colonies by individual effort and personal resource, in the French colonial sphere it is the Government that takes the initiative, and the result—as shown by the French conquest and the occupation by the Latin races (French, Spanish, and Italian) of the northern portion of Africa, with the attempt to win it back from barbarism—gives food for thought. The French system trusts much to education and the gradual acclimatization of European rule; but they have—in spite of Lord Salisbury's jibe that "the Gallic cock enjoyed scratching in the sand"—won much recognition already from the Arabs on account of the great success of their well-sinking, which has given a permanency to a precarious desert encampment that could never have been known before their advent, and something may be sought for from the emancipation of the downtrodden Jews as a middle race. Mr. March Phillipps well describes the desert which gives the title to his book. Its mystery, its solemnity and unchangeableness, and the similarity which concentrates the attention of the traveller upon the smallest variation; and he has much valuable information upon the Arab race, the character of which has been formed by the desert which nurtured it and from

which it is inseparable. He agrees with Rénan when he said that "L'irremédiable faiblesse de la race Arabe est dans son manque absolu d'esprit politique," and he ascribes to the same *faiblesse* the uncertainty of design in Arab architecture and the immobility in political development. He has some interesting chapters upon Arab poetry and upon the unprogressive nature of Mohammedanism; and narrates, for example, the unveiling in 1882 of the holy city of Kairwán by the French occupation, which act, he says, *ipso facto*, without any other aggression, destroyed the Arabic idea of its sanctity—sanctity and seclusion, inseparably connected in the Arab ideal, vanishing together at one blow. The excellent style of this book, as well as its nature, make it of great interest to all who love the East, and as a book of scholarly travel it cannot fail to be very welcome.—A. F. S.

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS, EDINBURGH AND  
LONDON.

2. *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*. Transcribed in full from the Originals in the British Museum. Introduced and Annotated by SYDNEY C. GRIER. This interesting addition to our knowledge of the life of "the Great Proconsul" is a very welcome work. The letters are in the British Museum, and have never been printed before *in extenso*. Here, illustrated with several fine and little known portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Hastings, they make an imposing volume, chiefly owing to the skill and patience of the editor, who annotates the letters very fully, and gives, as well, important essays on the periods and personages alluded to in them. In this way we get a complete view of the devoted *entourage* which circled round the Governor-General and "the Lady Governess"; for example, "Bibby Motte," Major Scott, Colonel Pearse, David Anderson, Sir John D'Oyley, Sweeny Toone, the Briscos, and their successors or descendants, the survivors of whom Hastings continued to befriend in his retirement

at Daylesford until his death. The letters of Hastings, which show his fondness for men of merit—for instance, Cleveland, the friend of the hill-tribes—and are full of the most devoted affection for his wife, begin in July, 1780. He writes, after his duel on August 17 with Sir Philip Francis, now “in no manner of danger,” that he was “obliged to stay in Calcutta, at least until Mr. F. is known to be free from all Danger, lest my Absence should be called a Flight,” and is anxious throughout to spare his wife any anxiety. He was at all times, also, eager to add in any way to her comfort, as when he examined for her “the most elegant chariot” just imported, which, however, he deemed unworthy, as “I judge it to be old and vamped; and besides I do not like it.” In January, 1784, Mrs. Hastings, whose health had suffered from the heat of India at a time when there were no sanatoria, was ordered home, and her husband, always affectionate, wrote after her departure: “In the heavy interval which I have passed I have had but too much leisure to contemplate the wretchedness of my situation, and to regret (forgive me, my dearest Marian; I cannot help it) that I ever consented to your leaving me”; and in the regular correspondence this loneliness is continually echoed in the sincere but very formal language of the bereaved Governor-General. His letters tell her as much as he can of what is going on in India—of his political difficulties and doings, of Munny Begum’s letters, of Tiretta’s lottery, of Miss Williams’ “own uninfluenced choice” of a husband, and many other things of interest to his absent wife, who had hopes (never realized) of presenting him with a child. Mrs. Hastings arrived in England in July 1784, and was installed in a house in South Street “with a fine view of the Park and the Surrey hills,” and well received at Court, to her husband’s great delight. “The attentions shown to you on your arrival, though what I expected, make no small part of my rejoicing”; and he arranged to join her as soon as he could. This he did by leaving Calcutta early in February, 1785, to return to

England, where he later met with the extraordinary accusations of which his former enemy, Sir Philip Francis, had been the prime instigator. This collection of letters present Mr. and Mrs. Hastings before us in the pleasantest light, and will be invaluable to any future biographer who wishes to make the English people forget the inaccuracies and mistakes of Macaulay's brilliant essay. Much has been done already for this purpose by the editor of this book, and in the present volume new notes on Hastings' family, the identity of his first wife, which has till now been little known, with data regarding the Imhoff and Chapuset families are appended. His unrivalled knowledge of the period gives the editor a special facility while adding explanatory notes to the letters for increasing their interest, and he has succeeded in making his book necessary to all future writers on early Anglo-Indian history.—A. F. S.

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BROWN, LANGHAM AND COMPANY, 78, NEW BOND STREET,  
LONDON, 1906.

3. *Here and There: Memories Indian and Other*, by H. G. KEENE, C.I.E., author of "A Servant of John Company," etc. Mr. Keene is known as a writer of graceful verse, an essayist, and a historian. Some of his verses appeared in *Blackwood* in its most palmy days. His literary activity, like his experience, has been varied, but, like his experience, mostly concerned with India. His verses were those of exile. He has written sketches of Anglo-Indian life. He wrote "Madhava Rao Sindhia" in the "Rulers of India" Series; contributed to the "Dictionary of National Biography"; edited an Oriental Biographical Dictionary. His prominent works are: "Fall of the Moghul Empire," "History of India," and "The Great Anarchy." Five years ago he brought out a volume of reminiscences entitled "A Servant of John Company." The present is another book of memories directly so entitled. Mr. Keene, in a general survey of the book,

says : " The first part of this work may be regarded as supplementary " to the other (the one mentioned above) ; then, that this " first part is followed by an inter-chapter giving some account of the almost revolutionary change that succeeded the Mutiny of 1857 " ; and that " the second part relates to the experiences of a returned exile in London, Oxford, and Jersey, with gossip about some distinguished persons whom the writer had the fortune to meet. "

The book is thus of a varied character, and might have been called " East and West, " had that title been available. Further on the author says of " Here and There " that in it he " has endeavoured to compensate for the somewhat subjective character of his former work by dwelling on the things and persons seen, and suppressing, as far as possible, the mention of him who saw them. "

Of the famous college, old Haileybury—which sent out the rulers and administrators of India during the culminating period of the East India Company's reign, among them such men as James Thomason, Charles Trevelyan, and John Lawrence—Mr. Keene has a great deal to say, for his connection with it, through his father, goes back to a period only fifteen years subsequent to its establishment. His father, the Rev. Mr. Keene, joined the college in 1824 as Professor of Arabic and Persian. He had had a remarkable career. " Originally a soldier, Mr. Keene had borne part under Arthur Wellesley, the future conqueror of Napoleon, in the short campaign which ended in the fall of Tippoo Sultan and the usurping dynasty of Mysore. Afterwards entering the College of Fort William, where the civilians were trained before the establishment of Haileybury, he passed a few years in the Madras Civil Service. He retired on an invalid pension, and entered Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, as a Fellow-Commoner in 1810 ; became a man of some note as an orientalist, and graduated in honours, ultimately becoming a clergyman of the Anglican Church. " Here was a commingling of the East and the West. Cobbett's " Parson Multhus " and

Empson, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, were also among the professors at that period. Here is a glimpse into the time: "Miss Martineau used to come to Haileybury as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Multhus; we exchanged visits with Lord John Townshend, of Balls, an old *viveur* of the days of Fitzpatrick, Fox, and the Dandies; on the occasion of terminal inspections we saw Sir Charles Wilkins, who had known Warren Hastings. Francis Jeffrey used to appear at Empson's, who had married Jeffrey's daughter."

When "beginning to organize an oversea dependency in the Philippines" the American Government appointed Commissioners to consider how the East India Company had dealt with a similar problem. They pronounced "that patronage, when checked by training at a special college entered only after a qualifying examination, produces results not inferior to open competitive examination."

From Haileybury to India. Mr. Keene says his official career was passed "not indeed in the higher places of Government, but in those relations with local administration which afford a closer acquaintance with the people." This is indeed true, to which may be added what Mr. Keene himself nowhere states—viz., that he belonged to the class of officers who enunciate the principles on which the rules of action come to be founded, of course with the usual preliminary opposition and the subsequent non-recognition. Mr. Keene's observations and remarks in connection with his service in India have a double interest and value, inasmuch as the service included the closing years of the old India—the India of the rule of the East India Company—as well as the opening years of the new India—the India of the rule of the Crown. Furthermore, his acquaintance with the rule preceding our own—that of the Moghul kings—enables him to draw comparisons between it and ours. This Indian portion of his book presents many questions of interest and moment for consideration and discussion. But we cannot enter on them here. That would be apart from our intention.

Then, finally, back again from India to England, and jottings of the days and doings there; Mr. Keene sees memorable sights and meets interesting people. Now we are carried back to India. "A visit from General Abbatt. He had lived a life of the most romantic adventure and devoted public service. He had borne a part in making history on more than one occasion, and it was strange to see this veritable hero living alone at Ryde, a gentle, sweet-voiced little old man, not without a touch of something like poetry." This was the James (afterwards Sir James) Abbatt who made the adventurous ride to Khiva in 1839, when the time was big with the coming tragedy in Cabul. "A debate in the House of Commons sustained by Harcourt, Labouchere, Gladstone, and A. Balfour." Or there is a visit to Sir M. E. Grant-Duff or Cotter Morison. We open a page and our eyes fall on the names of Calderon, Du Maurier, Clodd, Holman Hunt, Grant Allen, as Herbert Spencer says of Huxley "with independent means he would have been the greatest of biologists."

Mr. Keene is master of a very good style, polished, easy, clear, expressive. He carries you agreeably along. This work possesses what Dr. Johnson held to be the supreme merit in a book—that of being readable; it is very readable. Mr. Keene has a lively mind, he takes a lively interest in things, and so presents them in a lively manner. He has seen cities and men.—F.

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ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

4. *A Fantasy of Far Japan; or, Summer Dream Dialogues*, by BARON SUYEMATSU. In his former work Baron Suyematsu offered to English readers a defence of his country, and particularly of her recent policy *au grand sérieux*. The present work is a continuation of the task which brought him to Europe, the dissemination of a better knowledge of Japan and things Japanese, and the removal of the prejudices which until recently, at any rate, existed even in Great Britain, though here perhaps less than in

most other countries, against the progressive island community of the Far East. But now he touches the whole subject with a lighter pen. "A Fantasy of Far Japan" is intended above all things to be popular, to convey information to just the class of people who most stand in need of it, those who will not be at the trouble of reading blue-books or statistics, and who find "The Risen Sun" a little too serious reading for them. The work is a mine of information about the affairs of every-day life in Japan. In fact, one rises from its perusal with perhaps a clearer notion of Japanese institutions, as they seem at any rate to Japanese eyes, than is the case with almost any other work published on the subject with which we are acquainted. It is, however, in the manner in which this information is administered that the charm of the work and a great part of its usefulness resides. Throughout it consists of imaginary dialogues between the author and certain friends in France, mostly ladies, and this difficult form of writing is managed with a lightness, a humour, and delicacy of touch that in many places remind one of Anthony Hope at his best. This is an extraordinary achievement in the English language for any foreigner to accomplish, most of all for one whose native language is so absolutely different from ours. To meet the requirements of more serious students, the work is provided with a number of appendices which take the form of short essays on Japanese political questions.—R. N. L.

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CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1906.

5. *An English-Tamil Dictionary*, by the REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., Balliol College, Oxford. Part IV. of the handbook is chiefly intended by the author, he tells us, as a collection of hints to aid the student in working with his teacher, to whom Dr. Pope therefore leaves the task of pointing out, by word of mouth, the different shades of meaning; also to be distinguished by collation with Part III., the "Tamil-English Dictionary," and with Part V., the



"Prose Reader." Plentiful references are made to the latter, as well as to the grammatical rules in the handbook proper, thus economising space; and the same object has been attained by confining the larger type to the more useful words of the language, most of which have been given, and relegating those less needed, with derivatives and technical terms, to smaller print. Conciseness has further been secured by leaving out repetitions, since the translation of the synonym can always be looked for when that of the word originally sought is not found. There are terms which should not be used unless their exact sense is known; they have been put into brackets like those of foreign origin. Dr. Pope suggests that a few words should daily be committed to memory; and if this is done, their meaning being previously ascertained in the ways he proposes, the seventh edition of this part of the series will prove a very useful book of reference to its possessor. Let us hope that it will soon be followed by the revised lexicon, of which the improvements foreshadowed by Dr. Pope bid fair to make a most valuable key to Tamil and its literature. The innovations include the tracing, as far as possible, of the manner in which the connotation of each word has grown in the native vocabularies, the quotation of authorities to explain the use of terms, the distinction by small type of what is obsolete, references to the handbook where grammar is concerned and to other works when the information properly belonging to an encyclopædia is wanted, the indication of words employed in Telugu and other cognate languages, etc.—C.

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KEGAN, PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO; DRYDEN HOUSE, GERRARD STREET, SOHO, LONDON, W., 1905.

6. *The Shahnâma of Firdausi*, by A. G. WARNER, M.A., and E. WARNER, B.A. Vol. I. This book is one of Trübner's well-known Oriental Series, and only the first volume of what is eventually to be a complete translation of the great epic poem of Persia, the Shah-Nâmah, the book or record

of the kings of that country from the first down to the reign of Yazdagird, about A.D. 1010, or of the Hejira, 401, done into English.

The chronicle, in fact, commences from the creation of the world, the sun and the planets, and is supposed to embrace a period of some 3,874 years according to Persian cosmogony. With regard to the completion of the work, it is stated in the preface that it is hoped that future volumes will be brought out one at a time as circumstances permit. The translation in the volume under review is that of the contents of about 217 out of 484 pages of the first volume of Turner Macan's Calcutta edition of 1829, entitled C in the bibliography given in Chapter III. of the preface to the book. That edition fills four volumes of 2,093 pages of closely printed Persian type, about twenty-six couplets to a page; it also contains a long historical introduction and numerous valuable notes of comparison with Hindú mythology, etc. If continued in the same style it will not be completed under 2,200 pages, and will take, possibly, nine years to produce. Firdausi's original epic was said to number, with subsequent additions and interpolations made while the poem existed only in manuscript about the beginning of the last century, some 50,000 to 60,000 rhymed couplets. It is said to have occupied about thirty-four years of the life of the author. It is thus a work that could have been accomplished only by the unstinted devotion of many years of true Oriental leisure, and the idea of reviewing the translation of such a work in the brief, crisp style that in these modern days of steam and electricity is expected of a critic in a literary magazine, is enough to stagger the imagination of the latter and to arrest his pen in sheer despair. Fortunately, for the present we have to consider but one volume. Of the translators, the Rev. A. G. Warner died in 1903, and this volume is brought out by his surviving brother, E. Warner, to whom we wish long life and health to accomplish the whole work, although as to its due appreciation by the British public in their generally great

ignorance of and slight liking for Oriental literature, we must confess to entertaining considerable doubt. We would not, however, say a single word to damp the present editor's hope that by the publication he may be raising to his brother a *perhaps inconspicuous but lasting monument*. As far as the public are concerned, we should think that a general sketch of the epic, to be condensed, partly in verse and partly in prose, into a single volume, to illustrate the beauties of the poem and to give a résumé of the history of the country, would be as much as could be expected to find an appreciative audience among a comparatively limited number of people devoted to historical research and legendary lore.

A large portion of the introduction to the work is taken up with quotations from a satire on Mahmúd of Ghazni, under whose patronage most of the poem of the Shah-Namah was composed, written by Firdausi in consequence of the full reward of a thousand gold pieces for every hundred couplets, promised him in the first instance by the Sultan, not having been paid. This matter really has no connection with the poem itself, and need therefore be not further noticed than by saying the original reward was eventually paid by being brought in at one gate of the town of Tús, where he died, when his body was taken out for burial at another.

We now proceed to examine the translation, which is partly in rhyme and partly in not very smooth blank verse, the latter being little more than prose cut into lengths consisting of an uneven number of syllables, of which some examples will be given. Of the former, let us take the opening of the poem itself :

*" In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Pitiful !*

" In the name of the Lord of both wisdom and mind.  
 To nothing sublime can thought be applied,  
 The Lord of whatever is named or assigned  
 A place, the Sustainer of all and the Guide,  
 The Lord of Saturn and the turning sky,

Who causeth Venus, Sun and Moon to shine,  
 Who is above conception, name or sign,  
 The artist of the heaven's jewellery !  
 Him thou canst see not though thy sight thou strain,  
 For thought itself will struggle to attain  
 To One above all name and place in vain,  
 Since mind and wisdom fail to penetrate  
 Beyond our elements, but operate  
 On matters that the senses render plain.  
 None then can praise God as He is. Observe  
 Thy duty : 'tis to gird thyself to serve.  
 He weigheth mind and wisdom ; should He be  
 Encompassed by a thought that He hath weighed ?  
 Can He be praised by such machinery  
 As this, with mind or soul or reason's aid ?  
 Confess His being but affirm no more,  
 Adore Him and all other ways ignore,  
 Observing His commands. The source of might  
 Is knowledge ; thus old hearts grow young again,  
 But things above the Veil surpass in height  
 All words : God's essence is beyond our ken."

Compare this first with a literal translation :

" In the name of the Lord of life (or the soul) and of wisdom !  
 Higher than this thought does not pass,  
 The Lord of honour and the Lord of place (of dignity),  
 The Lord the giver of daily bread, the pointer out of the road (of  
 righteousness),  
 The Lord of the universe and the revolving sphere,  
 The lighter up of the Moon, and Venus, and the Sun,  
 Than name and sign and suspicion He is higher,  
 He is the exalted colourer of the jewel.  
 To those who see (or would see) the Creator,  
 Thou seest (Him) not ; trouble not thy two eyes.  
 To Him also thought findeth not a way,  
 For He is higher than honour and than place.  
 Whatever word may pass beyond this quality,  
 Life and wisdom find not the road to Him.  
 Wisdom and the soul He weighs :  
 When does He pierce the thought of what is weighed ?  
 No one knows to praise Him as He is  
 Thou must gird up the loins of service (to Him).  
 If He selects wisdom above the word,  
 He selects that which he sees.  
 With this method aid, and understanding and life and soul,  
 How can one praise the Creator ?

If thou wouldest confess His being,  
 Thou shouldest pass on one side from useless speech.  
 If thou wouldest worship, and look toward the road (of  
 righteousness),  
 Thou shouldest search deeply towards His commands.  
 He is powerful whoever is learnèd,  
 Through knowledge the heart of the old becomes youthful.  
 Higher than this veil there is no place for speech,  
 There is no road for thought to His existence."

We now venture to give our own version of the same  
 for comparison :

"Of life's Lord and of wisdom in the name,  
 To transcend which not even thought may claim :  
 The Lord of dignity and place of pride,  
 The giver of our daily bread and guide.  
 The Lord of universe and whirling sphere,  
 In whom Moon, Venus, and the Sun all bright appear.  
 Painter supreme of ev'ry gem as well,  
 Name, mark, and fancy all doth He excel.  
 He the Creator's self who now would see,  
 Vex not your two eyes, for it cannot be.  
 To Him no anxious care its way may find ;  
 Name, place, and dignity Him lag behind.  
 Whatever words such excellence may pass beyond,  
 These nor in soul nor wisdom can be found.  
 Wisdom and spirit in the scale He'll weigh,  
 To thought of weight how should he find the way ?  
 None knows to laud him as He ever is,  
 Service with girded loins is duly His.  
 Beyond words wisdom would one, therefore, learn,  
 He must choose only what he can discern.  
 By means that mind and life and soul afford,  
 How can one duly praise Creation's Lord ?  
 If to confess His being thou wouldst reach,  
 Thou shouldst now leave aside all useless speech.  
 If thou wouldst worship and look to the way,  
 Observe His precepts : naught is deep as they.  
 He who is learnèd always will be strong,  
 The old man's heart in knowledge e'er grows young.  
 Beyond this veil no words can e'er be brought.  
 There in His being is no room for thought."

We will give but one specimen of the so-called blank  
 verse, in order to illustrate what is said above as to its  
 style ; it is from p. 121 :

"The blessed Suyámak had left a son,  
 His grandsire's minister, a prince by name  
 Húshang—a name implying sense and wisdom.  
 It was the lost restored and fondly cherished.  
 And therefore being set on war, the Sháh  
 Sent for the prince and frankly told him all.  
 'I mean to gather troops and raise the war-cry,  
 But thou, being young, shalt lead, for I am spent.'  
 He raised a host of fairies, lions, pards,  
 And ravenous as wolves and fearless tigers,  
 But took the rear, his grandson led the host."

As to the merits of the original poem there can be no question; and it abounds in mythical and legendary lore, which it took Firdáusi thirty-four years to elaborate in rhymed couplets, to the number of fifty or sixty thousand, smoothly written with hardly a harsh-sounding phrase or flaw in the metre. The work must go down to all posterity as one of the most wonderful literary achievements in the world's history, unsurpassed even in ancient Greek and Roman literature. But that the British public will appreciate the detailed translation of a good many volumes of such a work is beyond all reasonable expectation.—A. R.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON,  
 1906.

7. *At the Gates of the East: A Book of Travel among Historic Wonderlands*, by LIEUTENANT-COLONEL J. P. BARRY, A.B., M.B., Indian Medical Service. With thirty-three illustrations. This volume is not meant as a guide-book, although as such it may prove useful to travellers in the countries and places described. It is a collection of impressions, not from books, but gathered at first hand, with a desire to guide those who may be in search of rest and health. The author, referring specially to Anglo-Indians seeking to restore health, says: "As a doctor who has been the round, I can truly say, it were a thousand times better for their health or spirits if the crowds of ailing people who now follow fashion blindly would break away

from the nausea, the tyranny, and the not infrequent disaster of the 'health resorts,' with their 'obligato' of after-cures, and betake themselves instead to the best of all restoratives—*travel*, especially in that unspoilt, little-known region where the world's oldest civilizations are contiguous—'At the Gates of the East.'"

The author's tours include the capitals of *Eastern Europe*—Athens, Constantinople, Buda-Pest, Vienna, Innsbrück; the Tirol; *the capital of Egypt*; *Southern Greece*, Corinth, Epidaurus, Argos, Olympia; *the Eastern Adriatic*—Abrazia, Trieste; in Istria and Dalmatia; Spalato, Sotona, Ragusa, Corfu, etc.; and *the Western Balkans*—Montenegro, Cetinje, across Herzejevina and Bosnia. There is also a very useful notice as to the cost of travel and comfortable hotels. The illustrations are beautiful. There is one desideratum—that is, a good map showing the routes by which he travelled. We have space for quoting only one interesting passage—that referring to Innsbrück—which may be useful to Anglo-Indians seeking rest and health: "In this land of legend and many a noble memory, where every peak is the centre of some animate story, as if it had once been a living thing, where every turn presents a new picture to the eye, there is the fullest scope for the day-dreams of the fanciful. And it all does not cost very much." A friend of mine, a distinguished officer of the Indian Medical Service, after much search and a knowledge of Europe in its health aspects, not common in the medical world, has been settled here with his family for some years, and I, who know the value of his experience, can add experience of my own that Innsbrück is one of the most desirable cities in Europe for Anglo-Indians, no matter how broken down they may appear to be before leaving India. I would not speak so positively and strongly did I not feel that I was doing my countrymen a public service—the liver-stricken, the malarial, the sleepless, and the unfortunate multitude who feel below par. For ladies and children every word I say of wintering in Innsbrück holds good, and might very well be extended

to the spring and autumn which, with their profusion of Alpine flowers, have a charm and salubrity of their own."

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MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON, 1906.

8. *Lord Curzon in India*: Being a Selection from his Speeches as Viceroy and Governor-General of India 1899-1905, with a Portrait, Explanatory Notes, and Index, with Introduction by SIR THOMAS RALEIGH, K.C.S.I. The number of speeches which Lord Curzon delivered during his period of service in India on public and semi-public occasions was upwards of two hundred and fifty, and the selection of about sixty, which composes the volume, is no easy task. The contents of the volume, however, are so arranged that, by reference to a full index, the opinion of Lord Curzon on important subjects can easily be found. The object of the volume is "to provide a key to the problems of modern Indian Government, as well as a synopsis of Lord Curzon's administration." In carrying out his policy he lost "no opportunity of taking the community into his confidence, both as to the objects and the details," "holding that there is nothing from which the Government of India suffers so much, both in India and in England, as public ignorance, and that even the Government of a dependency is best conducted by a free and frank interchange of opinions with the governed. While this method, to a certain extent, challenged popular criticism, it left the Indian public better informed than they had ever previously been as to the aims and acts of their rulers," and in this way information is furnished in "what may be described as a handbook to the recent history and government of India, more complete and authoritative than can be found in any contemporary publication." From this point of view the volume possesses "a value independent of any personal interest attaching to it, since, if a reader desires to know what, for instance, is the policy of the British Government



in India with regard to frontiers, or foreign or military affairs, in respect of education, famine, taxation, currency, irrigation, or the native states, he can ascertain it" by consulting the pages of this work. "Simultaneously, Lord Curzon, both in India and in England, was perpetually reiterating the fundamental principles of British rule in India, and some of his speeches on this point have already been introduced into the curriculum of English schools; while many of the projects with which he was particularly identified will be found explained in his own words." Moreover, with the view of supplying a general view of the system of government that is seen at work in this volume, as well as a connected account of the administrative task undertaken by Lord Curzon and his colleagues during the past seven years, there is an introductory chapter by Sir Thomas Raleigh, who was legal member of the Governor-General's Council from 1899 to 1904.

The chapters of which the volume is composed relate to general matters: Administrative and Financial Progress, including seven Budget speeches; Agrarian Legislation; Archæology and Ancient Monuments; Art; Burma; Chiefs and Princes of India, embracing Banquets, Colleges and Installations; Commerce and Industry; The Delhi Coronation Durbars; Education; Eurasians; Famine; Foreign Affairs; Game Preservation; Historical Memorials; Irrigation; Military Administration; Plague; Planters; Queen Victoria Memorial; Temperance, etc.; and Valedictory Speeches and Addresses.

With respect to irrigation, in which Lord Curzon took a keen interest from the beginning, he summarizes the situation in his last Budget speech on March 29, 1905, when he says, "There are two classes of irrigation in the country: State irrigation—*i.e.*, works constructed or maintained by the State, and private irrigation, conducted by communities or individuals, largely by means of wells." The Government of India spent in all 46½ crores, or £31,000,000 sterling, upon State irrigation works. Nearly

50,000 miles of canals and distributaries have been dug. There has been irrigated an area of  $21\frac{1}{2}$  million acres, out of a total irrigated area in British India of about 47 million acres, and there is derived from it a net revenue of £2,700,000 per annum, or a percentage of net revenue on capital outlay of approximately 7 per cent. By these means large tracts of waste ground have been turned into productive fields, with a great increase in population. In reference to this, Lord Curzon says, "we have done much, we have done what no other nation or country has done before." We are thus "converting the gifts of Providence to the service of man," and, "we are labouring to reduce human suffering, and, in times of calamity, to rescue and sustain millions of human lives."

In laying the foundation-stone of the new Daly Chiefs' College, Lord Curzon, in addressing the large and influential assemblage of chiefs and others, said, "What, it may be asked, your Highnesses, is this college to do for your sons? I think I know what you want, and I am sure I know what the Government of India want, and I believe that we both want the same thing. We both desire to raise up a vigorous and intelligent race of young men, who will be in touch with modern progress, but not out of touch with old traditions; who will be liberally educated, but not educated out of sympathy with their own families and people; who will be manly and not effeminate, strong-minded but not strong-willed; acknowledging a duty to others, instead of being a law unto themselves; and who will be fit to do something in the world, instead of settling down into fops or spendthrifts or drones. How are we to accomplish this? The answer is simple. First you must have the college properly built, properly equipped, and properly endowed. Then you must have a good staff of teachers, carefully selected for their aptitudes and adequately paid, and a Principal who has a heart as well as a head for his task. Then you must have a sound curriculum, a spirit of local patriotism, and

a healthy tone. And, finally, you must have two other factors: the constant support and patronage of the political officers, who live in this place, and in the various Central India States; and, above all, the personal enthusiasm, the close supervision and the vital interest of the chiefs themselves. I say 'above all' because the lesson the chiefs of India have to learn, if they have not learned it already, is that these colleges will depend, in the last resort, not upon Government support, but upon their support, and that the future is in their hands much more than in ours."

In view of national development he gave sound advice to the students of the Calcutta University in Convocation (February 15, 1902); he observed to those who are aspiring to Government appointments: "What are the chief perils against which you have to be on your guard? I think they are two in number. The first of these is the mechanical performance of duty, the doing a thing faithfully and diligently perhaps, but unintelligently, and therefore stupidly, just as a mechanical drill in a workshop will go on throughout the day, so long as the steam is in the boiler, punching an endless rotation of holes. This is a danger to which the Indian, with his excellent memory, his mastery of rules and precedents, and his natural application, is peculiarly liable. He becomes an admirable automaton, a flawless machine. But when something happens that is not provided for by the regulations, or that defies all precedent, he is apt to find himself astray. He has not been taught to practise self-reliance, and, therefore, he is at a loss, and he turns to others for the guidance which ought to spring from himself." "The second danger that I would ask you to shun is the corollary of the first. You must not only learn to be self-reliant, but you must be thorough. You must do your work for the work's own sake, not for the grade, or the promotion, or the pension, or the pay. No man was ever a success in the world, whose heart was not in his undertaking. Earnestness, sincerity, devotion to

duty carry a man quickly to the front, while his comrade, of perhaps superior mental accomplishments, but with deficient character, is left stumbling behind. Do not imagine for one moment that there is any desire on the part of the English governors of this country to keep native character and native ability in the background. I assert emphatically, after more than three years experience of Indian administration, that wherever it is forthcoming it receives unhesitating encouragement and prompt reward."

He gave similar advice to those who are embarking upon a professional career. To the law students, he advises them not to let words be their masters instead of being masters of words. "In a law court the facts are the first thing, the law is the second, and the eloquence of the barrister or pleader upon the facts and the law is the third. Do not let your attention to the third subject obscure the importance of the first and second, and, most of all, the first." "The second danger of the law courts is the familiar forensic foible of over-subtlety, or, as it is commonly called, hair-splitting." "Try, therefore, to avoid that refining, and refining, and refining, which concentrates its entire attention upon a point—often only a pin point—and which forgets that what convinces a judge on the bench or a jury in the box is not the adroitness that juggles with minutiae, but the broad handling of a case in its larger aspects." To those who are to be teachers, he tells them that teaching "is the foremost of sciences, the noblest of professions, the most intellectual of arts." "The teacher should profit by his own previous experience as a student. He should not inflict upon his pupils the mistakes or the shortcomings by which his own education has suffered. For instance, if he has been artificially crammed himself, he should not proceed to revenge himself by artificially cramming others. Rather should he spare them a similar calamity. The great fault of education, as pursued in this country, is, as we all know, that knowledge is cultivated by the memory instead of by the mind, and that aids to the

memory are mistaken for implements of the mind. This is all wrong. Books can no more be studied through keys than out-of-door games can be acquired through books. Knowledge is a very different thing from learning by rote, and in the same way education is a very different thing from instruction. Make your pupils, therefore, understand the meaning of books instead of committing to memory the sentences and lines. Teach them what the Roman Empire did for the world in preference to the names and dates of the Cæsars. Explain to them the meaning of government and administration and law, instead of making them repeat the names of battles, or the population of towns. Educate them to reason and to understand reasoning." "Remember, too, that knowledge is not a collection of neatly assorted facts like the specimens in glass cases in a museum. The pupil, whose mind you merely stock in this fashion, will no more learn what knowledge is than a man can hope to speak a foreign language by poring over a dictionary. What you have to do is, not to stuff the mind of your pupil with the mere thoughts of others, excellent as they may be, but to teach him to use his own. One correct generalization drawn with his own brain is worth a library full of second-hand knowledge." To those who are entering the profession of journalism, his advice is to avoid exaggeration and the imputation of the worse motives. "Do not employ words or phrases that you do not understand. Avoid ambitious metaphors. Do not attack in covert allegories or culminate in disguise." "Never descend to personalities; avoid that which is scurrilous and vulgar and low."

In the Convocation of the same University (February 11, 1905), Lord Curzon dwells specially, and with great force, on truthfulness. "Deviation from truth slides by imperceptible degrees into falsehood, and the man who begins by crediting himself with a fertile imagination merges by imperceptible degrees into a finished liar." "The commonest forms which are taken by untruth in this

country seems to me to be the following: The first is exaggeration, particularly in language; the tendency to speak or write things which the speaker or writer does not believe, or which are more than he believes, for the sake of colouring the picture or producing an effect. It is quite a common thing to see the most extravagant account of ordinary occurrences, or the most fanciful motives attributed to persons. Invention and imputation flourish in an unusual degree." "I know no country where mares'-nests are more prolific than here. Some ridiculous concoction is publicly believed until it is officially denied. Very often a whole fabric of hypothesis is built out of nothing at all. Worthy people are extolled as heroes; political opponents are branded as malefactors; immoderate adjectives are flung about as though they had no significance."

This most excellent work closes with a remarkable speech at the Byculla Club, Bombay; he concludes as follows: "A hundred times in India have I said to myself, Oh, that to every Englishman in this country, as he ends his work, might be truthfully applied the phrase, 'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity'! No man has, I believe, ever served India faithfully of whom that could not be said. All other triumphs are tinsel and sham. Perhaps there are few of us who make anything but a poor approximation to that ideal. But let it be our ideal all the same. To fight for the right, to abhor the imperfect, the unjust or the mean, to swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left, to care nothing for flattery or applause or odium or abuse—it is so easy to have any of them in India—never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your courage grow dim, but to remember that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of His ploughs, in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape, to drive the blade a little forward in your time, and to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice or happiness, or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual

enlightenment, or a stirring of duty, where it did not before exist, that is enough—that is the Englishman's justification in India. It is good enough for his watchword while he is here, for his epitaph when he has gone. I have worked for no other aim. Let India be my judge." With such noble aspirations, enthusiasm, patriotism, ability, and eloquence, Lord Curzon concluded and closed his administration in India.

JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS, GLASGOW, 1906.

9. *The History of Japan, together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam* 1690-1692. By ENGELBERT KÆMPFER, M.D., translated by J. G. SCHEUCHZER, F.R.S. Vols. 1 to 3.

The author of this history was the physician to the Dutch Embassy to the Court of the Japanese Emperor. The present publishers state that when the translator's work appeared in 1727, it was "Published in two folio volumes. On the back of the title-page are printed the words: 'April 27, 1727. Imprimatur, Hans Sloane, Præs. Soc. Reg.' The account of the acquisition of the author's manuscripts and collection of curiosities by Sir Hans Sloane is given by the translator. While the zoological specimens have perished through faulty methods of preservation, many of the author's botanical specimens may still be seen in the Natural History Museum, South Kensington. A few copies of the work contained a second appendix, dated 1828, 'Being Part of an Authentick Journal of a Voyage to Japan, made by the English in the year 1673.' Its chief interest lies in its account of an abortive attempt to revive the English trade with Japan, which had ceased since 1623-1624. This appendix has been included in the present reprint. Since its original publication in 1727 'The History of Japan' has not hitherto been reprinted in full. The maps and illustrations in the original edition were engraved as folio sheets, and bound in at the end of each volume. In this edition they have, for greater

convenience, been placed in their proper positions through the text; obvious printer's errors of spelling and punctuation have been corrected, but Kæmpfer's spelling of Japanese names has been retained. It should be borne in mind by the reader that the 'Emperor,' to whose Court at Jedo (Tokyo) Dr. Kæmpfer journeyed, was the Shogun; the Mikado is referred to throughout the book as the 'Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperor,' and held his Court at that time at Miaco (Kyoto)."

The first volume also contains a biographical note on the Scheuchzer family—that is, the translator's family—by Sir Archibald Geikie. His translation of Kæmpfer's work was the chief literary achievement of his brief life. He published two or three papers in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society on the measurements of the Height of Mountains and on Bills of Mortality. He also wrote an account of the success of inoculating small-pox, which was published in the year of his death (1729).

The author's preface contains an interesting account of the success of the Dutch East India Company. It was through their protection that he was able to visit the Empire of Japan and adjacent countries. The translator gives a minute biography of the author, who was born on September 16th, 1651, at Lemgow, a small town in the Circle of Westphalia, belonging to the Count de Lippe. He went "out from Batavia on his voyage to Japan in May, 1690, in quality of physician to the Embassy, which the Dutch East India Company sent, once a year, to the Japanese Emperor's Court." The observations he made in the course of his voyage in the kingdom of Siam, and afterwards during two years' abode in the Empire of Japan, are the subjects of the present work. After his travels he returned to his country seat at Steinhof, officiating as the family physician of Count de Lippe. He died there on November 2, 1716.

The first volume contains the history of Japan divided into Book I., which contains a general description of the



Empire of Japan; a journal of the author's voyage from Batavia to Siam, and what happened there; a description of Juthia, the capital city, and the king's place of residence; his voyage from Juthia down the river Meinam to the harbour; thence to Japan; Japan itself and its several islands; his opinion as to the true origin and descent of the Japanese; the climate of Japan, and its produce as to minerals and metals; the fertility of the country; its beasts, birds, reptiles, insects, fish, and shells. Book II., the then political state of the country—in this volume there are also various illustrations as to boats, temples, and other interesting objects and curiosities.

Volume two consists of three books: I., on the state of religion, its beliefs and forms of worship; and temples; II., the city of Nagasaki, the place of residence for foreigners; their trade and accommodation; III., an account of the author's journeys to the Emperor's Court at Jedo, and of the various objects of interest on the way.

The third volume contains one book with several appendices and a copious index. It also contains an account of his return from Jedo to Nagasaki, and his second journey to Court. Some of the appendices are peculiarly interesting, as they give the history of the Japanese tea, its culture, growth, preparation, and uses; also of the manufactures of paper. Like the previous volumes, there are numerous illustrations, maps, sketches of cities, temples, palaces, musical instruments, and other objects of curiosity.

The work will be of special value and interest to historians, antiquarians, and naturalists, as well as to the general reader. Its publication is most opportune, as Japan, Siam, and adjacent countries are at present occupying so much public attention.

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JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1905.

10. *Life of Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir Andrew Clarke, G.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E.*, edited by Colonel

R. H. Vetch, C.B. ; with a preface by Colonel Sir G. S. Clarke, K.C.M.G., F.R.S., R.E. ; with illustrations and maps. This is the memoir of one who made himself eminent by exceptionally natural gifts and qualities, to which were added a great force of character and unparalleled tact in dealing, not only with men of his own country, but with all the native races of Australia, India, Malay, and Siam with whom, in the course of his duties, he became conversant. Sir G. S. Clarke, in concluding his excellent preface, says: "Readers of this volume will recognise a life of exceptional public usefulness worthy of record, and they will not fail to realize the intensity of interest and the wide scope of the careers which our Empire can bestow upon its favourable sons. Those who knew Sir Andrew Clarke will never forget his great kindness and broad sympathies. Those who served under him will cherish the memory of a chief who was always considerate, always inspiring, and always open-minded. In the intensely complex affairs of our national life he played a notable part, and it is by reason of labours such as his—often unknown and unrewarded—that we move, however slowly, towards the light." Mr. Childers, when head of the War Office, in submitting to Queen Victoria a paper on the appointment of Inspector-General of Fortifications, says: "Except Colonel Sir John Stokes, who is a year junior in the army to Sir Andrew Clarke, no senior officer of Engineers has qualifications for the office of Inspector-General approaching to those of Sir Andrew Clarke, whose appointment, therefore, Mr. Childers has no hesitation in humbly submitting for your Majesty's approval." This influence over others was in great part due to his singular courage, moderation, and sound judgment, which were delineated in his manly and open countenance. He had a fine presence, and his manner towards all was both chivalrous and disinterested. Those who knew him could plainly see that all his acts were not for self-glorification, but rather to promote the prosperity and influence of the Empire. During 1847-

1853 he served in Van Diemen's Land, Tasmania, and New Zealand, and as Surveyor-General of Victoria he had a seat in the Legislative Council of the colony, and rendered important service by the introduction of a Bill to grant a new Constitution, which received the Royal assent in July, 1855. After being twelve years abroad he returned to England, and in consequence of his friendship, acquired in Australia, with Mr. Childers, who had become Civil Lord of the Admiralty, was appointed Director of Works at the Admiralty, and during the continuance of his nine years' services in that capacity he extended the docks at Chatham and Portsmouth, and constructed the Malta docks and the floating dock at Bermuda. In 1873, in consequence of his past eminent services, Lord Kimberley, then Colonial Secretary, appointed him Governor of the Straits Settlements. His principal members in the Legislative Council there were Mr. J. W. Birch, Colonial Secretary; Mr. T. Braddell, Attorney-General; and Major J. F. A. McNair, R.A., Colonial Engineer. One of his first duties was to send a special mission to represent him at the coronation of the King of Siam, a mission which received a cordial and gracious reception. It consisted of the well-known officials, Mr. Birch, Major McNair, and the then Lieutenant Brackenbury, whose diary is recorded in the volume. His efforts as Governor of the Straits Settlements were mainly directed to the independent Native Malay States lying to the north of Johore, which were always in a state of anarchy. The result of his efforts in that direction will always be honoured and remembered. The question of Chinese labour came upon the scene, the special work of which was registration, entrusted to Mr. W. A. Pickering. His duty was to "enforce the registration of the Chinese secret societies, and to keep in touch with the keepers of the kong-see house in Singapore." Sir Andrew increased his powers, and altered his title to "Protector of the Chinese." But while Sir Andrew Clarke was

prepared to protect the well-behaved Chinese, and even to adopt a tolerant attitude towards their secret societies in Singapore, where they were absolutely under control, he did not scruple to suppress them elsewhere, because he was fully alive to their dangerous character. Writing to the Assistant Resident at Larut in July, 1874, he wrote: "Put your foot down on the Chinese secret societies. Do not allow them to exist for a second. I would simply prohibit them, making it death to have anything to do with them. A just and intelligent severity at this moment will, in the end, be mercy and true kindness."

In December, 1873, unpleasant news having arrived that on two or three of the estates in Province Wellesley many of the coolies had been shamefully neglected, Sir Andrew ordered an inquiry, with the result that the manager of one estate and the agent for some others were brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment. The question was discussed in the English press and in Parliament, with the result that Government supervision of coolie labour was made stricter and regulations issued, to insure that the coolie should be better fed and protected. About this time Mr. Gladstone's Government was replaced by a Conservative Administration, and Mr. Montague Corry (Lord Rowton) amusingly wrote, in reference to an incident at the General Election, that Mr. Disraeli referred to the Straits of Malacca in a speech at Aylesbury, suggesting the lines:

"The farmers of Aylesbury sat down to dine,  
They'd plenty of cheer and very good wine;  
And after the dinner they took to their bacca,  
And the gist of their talk was the Straits of Malacca."

Sir Andrew's services in regard to the Kings of Siam and the troubles with some of the Malay chiefs proved eminently successful.

All these efforts, however, broke down his health, when he accepted in May, 1875, an appointment in Calcutta as a Member of the Council, in which capacity he rendered

eminent services in regard to roads, bridges, railways, and the frontier policy. On the expiration of his term of office he left India, arriving in England in July, 1880. Among the illustrations are portraits of Sir Andrew, his father and mother, and other reminiscences, and two maps, showing the Malay Peninsula in 1875 and in 1904.

In the appendices there is, among other interesting contributions, a family genealogy, a diary of the voyage of the Bermuda floating dock across the Atlantic, a scheme for naval reserves, Mr. Childers' communication to Queen Victoria on his appointment as Inspector-General of Fortifications, and a copious index. In Appendix VI. there is a footnote referring to the proclamation to the "Malay Rajas, Elders, and People" of the title of Queen Victoria as "Empress of India." It states: "This is the first occasion on which the style 'Empress of India' was officially used, and there does not appear to have been any authority for its use. In his desire to impress the Malay chiefs with the greatness of his Sovereign, Sir Andrew anticipated the adoption of the style by Parliament by some eighteen months, and of the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India at the Delhi Durbar of January 1, 1877, by more than two years." We have the best authority for adding that an officer on Sir Andrew's staff, well acquainted with the Malay and Hindustani languages, first suggested to Sir Andrew that the title should be "Maha Maharani," which would be understood by the people as "Queen Empress." The title, however, adopted in India and elsewhere is "Kaiser-i-Hind," which was originally suggested by the late Dr. Leitner.

11. *Western Culture in Eastern Lands.* A comparison of the methods adopted by England and Russia in the Middle East, 1906. By ARMINIUS VAMBERY, C.V.O., 410 pp., 12s. net. It is interesting to have this veteran writer's opinions upon the progress and results of the introduction of the culture of the West into Asia by means of

the two European Powers, Russia and Britain. He describes their respective methods, and the history of their rule, and gives a book to us which students will be glad of not only for his own deductions, but on account of the information he gleans from obscure Russian and German sources.

Comparing the two nations, he believes that the popular idea that Russia, being a European Power more nearly allied to Asia, will be the better civilizing agent of the two is erroneous. Its militant spirit, Christian propaganda, and imperfect development are against it. The spread of culture in Asiatic Russia has sprung from early conquest and consequent forced conversions and later reforms, pursued solely from the point of view of the aggrandisement of the State, and not from any real desire for the progress of the people. It has had some influence, but not much. The peace which its stability of rule has given to the conquered has not been without its good effect, and fear has inspired respect. When the sacred city of Samarkand fell, the power of Russia over the Moslems was known to be secure, and the Turkish proverb, "The hand thou canst not cut off, kiss reverently, and lay it on thine head," became the guiding light of the conquered race. In Siberia we notice the Russification of the heathen tribes, and though culture has increased little among the Moham-medans, a curious instance of progress has occurred among the Buddhist Buryäts, who have done some good work with the ruling race; but where Islam was supreme progress has been very limited. In Central Asia, for example, the native, slighted by the Russian, is merely passive in educational receptiveness; progress in Turkestan is very limited, and that country "a precious stone set in sand" of vast resources is still unexploited. The British in their Asiatic conquests have acted differently. Their conquest began as a trading venture, and has not been piecemeal, like that of Russia, but accidental and gradual. Hand in hand with time, therefore, has gone the British desire to

conciliate native ideas, while impressing Western culture on the native races. They have introduced radical reforms, such as the abolition of sati and infanticide, the suppression of thagi, and have given real facilities for education, as well as positions in the Government of the country. But with these measures has been no desire to destroy the nationality of the conquered races, nor to enforce Christianity as there has been in the case of the Russian conquests. Dr. Vambéry holds that the Englishman from the justice and equity of his rule has made his country more liked in Asia than the Russian, and that the prestige of the latter has also suffered since the successes of Japan. He does not fear for British rule from a Mohammedan reaction, and brings his book to a close with a review of the prospects of a Mohammedan revival. That something of the kind has been of late simmering is obvious from the instances he gives of the weariness that Moslems show of the unprogressive rule of Islam. Turkey and Egypt have imbibed some Western thoughts, chiefly through the medium of papers published mainly at Cairo. And the Pan-Islamic idea has gained some ground. Strangely enough, however, it is in backward Persia that the religious movement of the Bab has been followed by the most real liberal awakening. He sees no chance, however, of even slow acquisition by Islam of the culture of the West unless through the tuition or under the protection and direct administration of Western Powers.—A. F. S.

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SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,  
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, LONDON, S.W.

12. *Tibet and the Tibetans.* By the REV. GRAHAM SANDBERG. This work is a compendium of all the information collected in the course of many years about Tibet by travellers of European and Asiatic birth alike, and especially by the loyal and zealous "native agents" of the Indian Transfrontier Survey. The information which they have

supplied has been arranged and supplemented with the special knowledge that can only be derived from linguistic proficiency by a gentleman who had devoted many years of his life to the study of the Tibetan language and literature. The work in question, therefore, furnishes us not only with an accurate description of the geographical and physical features of the country, which are without any counterpart elsewhere in the world, as well as of its climate and scenery, its botany and zoology, its agriculture and industries, and the character, dress, customs, dwelling-houses and occupations of its inhabitants, but also of their religious and educational institutions, as they now exist, with some account of the ancient texts and traditions from which these derive their sanction. One chapter is devoted to "The Practice of Magic and Sorcery," which still prevails in the country; and one very interesting chapter gives an account of the Tibetan national poet, Milaraspa, and of his writings, which have retained their original popularity and *vogue* for upwards of 800 years. The work throughout bears evidence of the author's industry in the accumulation and arrangement of whatever material he could find bearing on the chosen subject of his study. The greater part of it was already in print before the conclusion of the proceedings taken by the Indian Government against Tibet, and the return of the mission which penetrated to Lhása, but the author was able to state in a short preface, written *after* that event, that "few new facts had been revealed by the mission," while the latest descriptions of Lhása itself bear remarkable testimony to the accuracy and fullness of the information previously supplied by the native agents of the Transfrontier Survey, of which the author availed himself. One cannot help regretting, however, that the author's illness and his untimely and lamented death prevented his putting those finishing touches to his work which might have made it more attractive, if not more valuable.

In reading the earlier chapters, in which the physical aspects of the country are described, one wishes for the



accompaniment of a good map ; and throughout the book we come across native terms and expressions, which make some sort of a vocabulary a desideratum. It will generally be found that the terms in question are explained somewhere or other in the text, but it would be a great assistance to the reader if he could turn at once to a specified page in order to ascertain their meaning.

The quotations from Tibetan literature, both ancient and modern, which (translated into good English) the author has introduced into his book, help us to understand the character of the people better than any mere descriptive writing could do. It would appear that for these samples of the country's literature also the author was indebted to an Asiatic explorer, but one whose name at least is known in Europe—viz.. Sarat Chandra Dás. The rule is for the "native agents" of the Transfrontier Survey to be designated by initials only, such as A.K. and U.G. English readers of *Kim* will recall to mind the novelist's appreciative portrayal of the type of men, wholly unknown to fame, whose services the Indian Government has at its command for the most intricate and perilous adventures in the search of knowledge. The volume under consideration is a striking example of what can be achieved in the quest of knowledge by the combined efforts of patient and self-devoted enthusiasts in the study and "on the road."—W.

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SWAN SONNENSCHN EIN AND CO., LTD., HIGH STREET,  
BLOOMSBURY, LONDON, W.C., 1906.

13. *Dictionary of Indian Biography.* By C. E. BUCKLAND, C.I.E. The object of this dictionary is to supply information to the ordinary reader in a convenient form regarding the careers and doings of the large number of persons connected with India in history by their exploits, services, and writings. It gives the main facts succinctly of the lives of about 2,600 persons—English, Indian, foreign, men or women, living or dead—who have been

conspicuous in the history of India, or distinguished in the administration of the country in one or other of its various branches, or have otherwise contributed to its welfare, service, and advancement. Besides the biography there is a copious bibliography, containing the titles of a number of works which may with advantage be consulted by those who desire to acquire a fuller information of individuals or the histories of India. There is also a separate list of the chief works of reference which the editor has consulted in compiling and editing this handy and useful volume.

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T. FISHER UNWIN ; PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.

14. *Greece from the Coming of the Hellenes to 14 A.D.*  
By E. S. SHUCKBURGH, LITT.D. Lecturer in ancient history University College, London. This is one of the excellent volumes composing the *Story of the Nations*. Like the other volumes, it is beautifully printed and well illustrated. The editor lays stress upon the political, intellectual, and artistic achievements of the Greeks rather than on the history of military operations. His plan is to refer to the literary movement in each period as it arose, but he has a separate chapter upon "Greek Literature," to which we shall specially refer. The volume consists of a minute index and ten concise chapters. The first, The Greeks, and their Work in the World; the second, Early Development of Greek States; the third and fourth, The Origin and Invasion of the Persians; the fifth, Athenian Supremacy; the sixth, The Peloponnesian War to the Establishment of Macedonian Supremacy; the seventh, The Greater Hellenism; the eighth, The Roman Conquest; the ninth, Greece under the Rule of Rome to 14 A.D.; and the tenth, The Intellectual Life of Greece. This chapter is probably the most interesting to the general reader. It refers to Greek education in its various forms. A succinct history and tenets of the sophists; the philosophical schools; literature; epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry; Alexandrine

poets, epic and bucolic ; history and oratory. He concludes by referring to the splendour of style of the orations of Demosthenes. He says, "Though a considerable number of them are purely forensic, spoken by himself or his clients in private lawsuits, the most notable of those which relate to public questions, and they are for the most part connected with his policy of opposition to the designs of Philip, King of Macedonia—the Olynthiacs, the Philip-pics, on the Chersonese, on the 'fraudulent embassy,' 'on the crown,' and others.

"As literature, they mark the highest point in the development of a Greek prose style. Clear, incisive, and harmonious, the language at once pleases the ear, and flashes the meaning upon the mind. The art is so great that it is entirely concealed ; and for the moment each word or phrase seems inevitable. He carried conviction as though by an irresistible torrent. It was only when the commanding voice and the long roll of the sentences were silent that an audience could begin to see that it had been carried off its feet, and swept far in a direction to which, in its soberer reflections, it had no intention of going."

This chapter is beautifully illustrated by sculptural representations of Plato, Aristotle, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Menander. The sculptures are in some of the most celebrated museums and galleries of Europe.

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#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Reports on the Administration of Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for 1904-1905.* (Government Central Press, Bombay, 1906.) It is noted that the figures relating to elections do not indicate that the working of the boards excites any increasing interest. There has been a decrease in the aggregate income of the boards, but this has not affected the expenditure of the year. The increase in the school receipts indicates the diminishing prevalence of plague, and the expenditure on

education has gratifyingly increased. Civil works have been executed on communications. Considerable expenditure has been devoted to water-supply and water-works. The general financial condition of the boards appears to be quite sound, two only being in a position of indebtedness.

*The India List and India Office List for 1906.* Compiled from Official Records by direction of the Secretary of State for India in Council. (Harrison and Sons, 45, Pall Mall, London, 1906.) This is an invaluable compilation, giving a detailed account of the Indian Service in its various departments, both at home and in India; a record of services corrected to July 1, 1905, arranged alphabetically; retirements, and a minute index of names.

*The History of India as told by its own Historians.* Vol. ii.: "The Local Muhammadan Dynasties, Gujarât." By ALEXANDER ROGERS, Bombay Civil Service (retired). Taunton, Barnicott and Pearce, Athenæum Press. This volume is in course of preparation, and if sufficient encouragement and support are received will shortly be published. It will form a sequel to Sir H. M. Elliot's "History of the Muhammadan Empire of India," and bring the interesting history of Gujarât down to a comparatively recent date.

*The Prospects of Rubber Cultivation in Ceylon.* By HENRY M. ALLEYN, planter, Colombo. (Printed at the *Times of Ceylon* Press, 1906.) This pamphlet contains reprints of articles in the *Times of Ceylon* of November 1, 7, and 18, 1905, and deserves the attention of all interested in this valuable industry, and in the welfare of Ceylon.

*The Wisdom of Israel:* Being extracts from the Babylonian Talmud and Midrash Rabbah. Translated from the Aramaic and Hebrew, with an Introduction, by EDWIN COLLINS HOLLIER, Hebrew Scholar, University College, London. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London.) This little volume forms part of a series, entitled "The Wisdom of the East," whose object is to act as an "Ambassador of good-will and understanding between

East and West, the old world of thought and the new of action." For this purpose no pains has been spared to secure the best specialists for the treatment of the various subjects intended to be embraced in this useful and, in various ways, interesting series.

Another contribution to this series is, *The Classics of Confucius' Book of History* (Shu King), rendered and compiled by W. GORNOLD, M.R.A.S., author of Translations (with commentaries) of the Shu King, Tao-Teh-King, etc. The object of this volume is "to convey to the English reader a familiar view of the men, who made Chinese history during the earlier ages of the Yellow Empire."

*English-Arabic Vocabulary for the use of Officials in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.* Compiled in the Intelligence Department of the Egyptian Army, by CAPTAIN H. F. S. AMERY, the Black Watch (attached Egyptian Army). (Cairo: Al-Mokattam Printing-Office, 1905.) This excellent vocabulary, well printed in clear type, and in a convenient form, has been compiled primarily for the use of British officers and officials serving in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; but it will prove most useful to visitors to the Sudan, or to those interested in the various dialects of the Arabic language. It is divided into two parts: (1) Technical terms in use in the army and various departments of the Sudan Government. (2) Some 3,500 words of the most common daily usage, translated into the Arabic equivalents employed for those in conversation among the Arabs of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The compilation does great credit to Captain Amery, and to the Intelligence Office of the War Office at Cairo and Khartoum, as well as to the printer.

*Turkish Self-taught*, with English Phonetic Pronunciation. Containing Vocabularies, Elementary Grammar, Idiomatic Phrases and Conversations, English and Turkish Dictionary, Money, Weights and Measures. By CAPTAIN C. A. THIMM, revised by PROFESSOR G. HAGOPIAN, R.A.S.

Fourth edition. (E. Marlborough and Co., 51, Old Bailey, London, E.C., 1905.) The present edition of this handy manual has been corrected and almost rewritten by the well-known Professor G. Hagopian, assisted in revision by Professor A. Georgius. The manual is very useful to students, tourists and travellers, naval and military officers, consuls, and other public servants. The transliteration is phonetic, easy and simple, greatly facilitating the acquirement of the language as spoken and written by Turkish authorities in Constantinople and throughout the Ottoman Empire, and also by educated persons in Syria, Egypt, Tunis, and Tripoli.

*Chinese Simplified*, by E. G. TERRY. (Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, London, W.C.) It does not appear from the title-page of this little book of sixty-five pages where it was printed, but apparently in Natal, and it is presumed that the author is Miss E. G. Terry, once of the Tientsin Methodist Mission, possibly now engaged in mission work in South Africa. The dialect purported to be taught is "Mandarin"—that is, so far as appears from the spelling adopted, a kind of Nankingese, which bears much the same relation to Pekingese (rather a corrupt form of Chinese) that Italian does to Portuguese. There is nothing much to be said against Miss Terry's modest effort. The Rev. J. Summers published an excellent grammar forty years ago, and the China Inland Mission has not been idle since. For persons in South Africa, however, who wish to obtain command of a few current phrases, the work will not come amiss; it is unpretentious, and, being purely romanized and destitute of "hieroglyphic" or "character," it is within the competence of the most humble intellect to master, even though the Shan Tung coolies in South Africa may not talk this precise form of "Mandarin."—E. H. P.

*Hossfield's Japanese Reader*: Comprising a Graduated Series of Extracts from Leading Authors, with Copious Footnotes and a Vocabulary, by H. J. WEINTZE, author of

"Hossfield's Japanese Grammar," etc. (Hirschfeld Brothers, Ltd., 13, Furnival Street, London, E.C.) This convenient handbook is divided into two parts—one elementary, the other more advanced, adducing specimens of Japanese literature in various stages. The extracts produced are progressive, beginning with easy and simple style and construction, advancing to the higher classics, and with the aid of the excellent vocabulary—Japanese-English—and "Hossfield's Grammar" the student will have little difficulty in becoming acquainted, step by step, with Japanese literature,

*Adversaria Sinica*, by HERBERT A. GILES, M.A., LL.D. (Aberd.), Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge. With illustrations. (Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai, 1906.) This is a pamphlet published in Shanghai, and might well be waggishly translated "Chinese Adversaries," for it consists mainly in thrusts at the humble writer of this short notice. As it is marked "No. 3," it is evident that the particularly objectionable adversary in question has been unconsciously undergoing literary punishment for some time. There is not a single instance in standard Chinese history of the authenticity of either Lao-teg or his book having been in any way questioned, the single apparent exception cited by Mr. Giles (Ts'ui Hao) having been brought before the public by the undersigned in the *China Review* twenty-one years ago (vol. xiii., p. 73), and the exception is *not* an exception, but only an apparent one. Mr. Giles' negative evidence (mostly grossly incorrect and "selected") amounts to absolutely nothing, and is completely answered in the *China Mail* of March 10 last, and will also be in that of June. Three copies of Lao-teg's book were found after the "burning of the books" in 213 B.C., one of a date earlier than 220 B.C. There are over a hundred allusions to and quotations from it in the two earliest Chinese histories.—E. H. P.

*The Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending June 30, 1904.*

(Washington Government Printing Office, 1906.) There is a very valuable report of the U.S. National Museum, embracing reports on anthropology, biology, and geology, accompanied with portraits of the chief workers and geological and other specimens. There are appendices and other interesting information, also short descriptions of Howland's collection of Buddhist art, and well-executed illustrations of Buddha in various positions and Buddhist saints and priest; also a representation of the Chinese god of war and peace, etc., and flint implements of the Fayum, Egypt, by Heywood W. Seton-Karr, of the British military service in Egypt. There is a minute and copious index to the whole volume.

*Le Cycle Turc des Douze Animaux*, par ED. CHAVANNES (E. J. Brill, Leyden). This subject is too technical even for most sinologists, not to mention the general public; but M. Chavannes' researches mark a great turning-point in history. It is undoubtedly a fact that the Turks did a great deal to join the civilization of Greece, Persia, and China, and there seems equally little doubt that China, Siam, etc., owe to the Turks of A.D. 1 at the latest the year-cycle of the Twelve Animals in use over a great part of Asia to this day. It is particularly gratifying to find that so distinguished an inquirer as M. Chavannes now recognises the Ephthalites to have been as much Turks as the Hiung-nu,—E. H. P.

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We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Captain*, *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan



and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals Defender* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. v., Nos. 1, 2 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1906);—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and

proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras);—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), February, March, and April, 1906 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras);—*The Christian Patriot* (the M. E. Press, Mount Road, Madras);—*Journal of the Moslem Institute*, a quarterly chiefly devoted to subjects of Oriental interest (Calcutta, No. 1);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd., Toronto);—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Luzac and Co., London; Bombay Education Society's Press, Bombay);—*The Virjanand Magazine*, No. 1, vol. i. (Partabgarh, Oudh, India);—*Bombay Gazetteer*, vols. iib. to xxivb., and General Index (Government Press, Bombay).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *With Mounted Infantry in Tibet*, by Brevet-Major W. J. Ottley (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1906);—*A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, by Jane E. Duncan (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1906);—*The Great Plateau: being an account of exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905*, by Captain C. G. Rawling (London: Edward Arnold, 41, Maddox Street, Bond Street, 1905);—*A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama*, with an introductory sketch of the dramatic literature of India, by Montgomery Schuyler, junior, A.M. (New York: The Columbia University Press; The Macmillan Company, agents, 1906);—*Manual of Colloquial Tibetan*, by G. A. Bell, I.C.S. (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 41, Lower Circular Road, 1905);—*Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle: a record of thirteen years*, by Captain A. I. R. Glasfurd (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, and New York, 1905);—*Persia by a Persian: being*

personal experiences of manners, customs, habits, religious and social life in Persia, by Rev. Isaac Adams, M.D. (London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1906);—*Livingstone College Year-Book*, 1906 (Livingstone College, Leyton, E.);—*Ancient Records of Egypt*: historical documents, from the earliest times to the Persian Conquest. Collected, edited, and translated, with commentary, by James Henry Breasted, PH.D. Vol. i.: "The First to the Seventeenth Dynasties." Vol. ii.: "The Eighteenth Dynasty." Vol. iii.: "The Nineteenth Dynasty" (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906; London: Luzac and Co.; Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz);—*Everyday Life among the Head-Hunters, and other Experiences from East to West*, by Dorothy Cator (Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, New York, and Bombay, 1905);—*A Tropical Dependency*: an outline of the ancient history of the Western Soudan, with an account of the modern settlement of Northern Nigeria, by Flora L. Shaw (Lady Lugard) (London: James Nisbet and Co., Ltd., 21, Berners Street, 1905);—*The Instruction of Ptah-Hotep* and *The Instruction of Ke' Gemni*: the oldest books in the world. Translated from the Egyptian, with an introduction and appendix, by Battiscombe G. Gunn (London: John Murray, 1906);—*The Africander Land*, by Archibald R. Colquhoun (London: John Murray, 1906);—*Things Indian*: being discursive notes on various subjects connected with India, by William Crooke (London: John Murray, 1906);—*Researches in Sinai*, by W. M. Flinders Petrie, with chapters by C. T. Currelly, M.A. (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1906);—*India under Royal Eyes*, by H. F. Prevost Battersby (London: George Allen, 156, Charing Cross Road, 1906).

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It must be gratifying to all lovers of Shakespeare to see one of the most charming of his plays, *The Taming of the Shrew*, performed at the ADELPHI THEATRE. Mr. Oscar Asche's interpretation of Petruchio harmonizes well with Miss Lily Brayton's rendering of Katharine. Their excellent acting brings out many a subtle charm of the piece.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—On April 6 the Viceroy unveiled a statue of General Nicholson at Delhi in the presence of a large assembly of native chiefs. Lady Minto and Lord Kitchener were also present.

The annual financial statement for 1904-1905 shows that the realized surplus was £3,456,566. (For details, see "Correspondence, Notes, and News," elsewhere in this Review.) The estimated surplus for 1905-1906 is £1,755,700, and for 1906-1907 £874,100.

A Commission has been appointed by the Bengal Government to investigate the question of malaria and drainage.

The last of the eleven memorials erected in the United Provinces to the memory of Queen Victoria was unveiled by Sir James La Touche at Allahabad on March 24.

The Punjab Government has sanctioned Rs. 10,000 towards the extension of the workshops of the Jubilee Hindu Technical Institute, and Rs. 25,000 to the Islamia College, Lahore.

The wheat crop in the Punjab this year is half a million tons in excess of the largest crop hitherto recorded.

Six thousand acres of land in Sind are being put under Egyptian cotton.

The Secretary of State has sanctioned the establishment of a Scientific Research Institute in connection with the Forestry Department at Dehra Dun. Both this institute and the school will be given the status of a college, controlled by a director and professors.

The Government of Madras is constructing a bridge across the Moola Vanka, 196 miles on the Chittoor-Kurnool road, in the Cuddapah district. It is to cost Rs. 21,700.

Two raids occurred in April on the Peshawar Border—the first near Michni, the second near Abazai—in which

four natives were killed, and one policeman wounded. The raiders, who were believed to belong to the outlaw Hakim Khan, were pursued by a detachment of military police, but without any result.

The number of persons under State relief throughout India exceed 460,000.

Mr. Felix Schuster has been appointed a member of the Council of India in succession to Mr. F. C. Le Marchant.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has nominated Mr. William Thacker Spink to be Member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

Sir Charles Lewis Tupper, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., has been appointed an ordinary Member of Council in place of the Hon. Mr. Hewett, on furlough.

Major-General D. Haig, Inspector-General of Cavalry in India, has been appointed Director of Military Training at the Army Headquarters, in succession to Major-General Sir F. W. Stopford.

Sir Harvey Adamson, C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, Chief Judge of the Chief Court of Lower Burma, has been appointed an ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India, to take effect on October 1 next.

The Hon. George Steuart Forbes has been appointed Member of Council for Madras.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—Mr. V. P. Mahhava Rao, C.I.E., Dewan of Travancore, has been appointed first Minister of Mysore.

The Mysore Government has appointed Mr. L. H. Buckwith to succeed the late Mr. G. Lovelle as Deputy Inspector of Mines.

Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, I.C.S., Oriental Translator to the Government of Bombay, has been appointed Dewan of Junagadh.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—The agreement between China and Great Britain with respect to Tibet was signed on April 27 by Sir Ernest Satow and Tang-Shao-Yi. The indemnity of twenty-five lakhs is payable in three equal annual

instalments, the first of which was paid in Calcutta on May 29.

The Government has decided to complete the Hindustan-Tibet road, in order to establish an unbroken link between Simla and Gantok, the new trade-mart in Western Tibet. A survey of the proposed extension has been ordered.

On May 30 a band of Zakka-khels, Akakhels, and Peshawar outlaws attempted a raid in the Peshawar district. The raiders were repelled, and a leader named Chaman subsequently died of wounds.

PERSIA.—Troubles broke out in April in Northern Persia, arising from racial and religious conflicts in the Caucasus. Twenty Europeans, presumed to be Armenians, were killed and wounded.

Plague has broken out in Eastern Persia. The Indian medical officers at Nasratabad and Birjand are almost helpless, owing to the indifference of the officials and the absence of necessary troops to enforce protective measures. The plague shows no signs of abatement.

A Russian consulate was established at Bunder Abbas on March 15.

Henry Dudley Barnham, C.M.G., has been appointed Consul-General for the governorships of Ispahan, Yezd, Gulpaigan, and Konsar, the province of Irak, and the districts of Ghehkarmahal, Feridan, and Bakhtiari. His residence will be at Ispahan.

Mr. Grant Duff, Secretary of Legation, Teheran, has been appointed a Councillor of Embassy.

CHINA.—An Imperial decree was issued on May 9, appointing Tich-liang Administrator-General, and Tang-Shao-Yi Assistant Administrator of the entire Customs of China, including the Imperial Maritime Customs under Sir Robert Hart, whose entire staff, Chinese and foreign, is placed under their control.

In reference to the above, the Chinese Government declare that they have no intention of departing from the loan agreement of 1896 and 1898, which stipulates that as

long as the conditions are in operation the administration of these Customs will be maintained as hitherto under the control of Sir Robert Hart.

The Customs revenue for 1905 was £5,281,280, an increase of £767,262 over the receipts for 1904.

Mukden was opened on June 1 to international trade.

SIAM.—In the Siamese Budget, recently published, the revenue for 1906-1907 is estimated at £3,040,000, an increase of £95,000 on last year's revenue.

The King has appointed Arthur Rose Vincent to be Assistant Judge of His Majesty's Court for Siam.

JAPAN.—The House of Peers of Japan, by 205 votes to 62, has passed the Railway Nationalization Bill, which the Lower House afterwards agreed to, with the following amendments: (1) The period for the whole operation is changed from five years to ten. (2) The number of railways is reduced from thirty-two to seventeen, thereby reducing the total amount from £47,000,000 to £44,100,000. (3) The time for delivering of the State Bonds, which represent the price of each railway, is extended from two years to five. (4) Means are provided for a protest against official price.

Viscount Hayashi has been appointed Foreign Minister in Japan. Baron Komura on June 6 was formally appointed Ambassador to England by the Mikado in his place.

A great improvement has taken place in the famine-stricken districts. The total amount of subscriptions from foreign sources have amounted to £14,000.

CEYLON.—Mr. Ambalavanar Kanagasabai has been appointed an unofficial member of the Legislative Council.

The total amount of the Ceylon pearl fishery of 1906, which lasted thirty-six days, was Rs. 1,336,745.91.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.—An Abyssinian outlaw, named Marian, raided several Soudanese villages in Soudan territory about sixty miles south-east of Kedaref. Over 100 villagers were killed, including 13 women and 41 men, and 133 women seized and carried into Abyssinia. The Govern-

ment has formed posts along the frontier to prevent further trouble.

On May 24 Lord Cromer laid the foundation-stone at Alexandria of the new building of the Victoria College.

**TURKEY IN ASIA.**—With reference to the recent encroachment of Turkey upon Egyptian territory in the Sinai peninsula, it was proved that certain landmarks had been removed, and that Turkish troops had invaded Egyptian territory. After considerable delays on the part of Turkey, the latter complied with the British demands. A commission has also been appointed to mark out the boundary, which Great Britain insists shall be a straight line from El Rafah to Akabah.

**SOUTH AFRICA.**—The Compensation Commission finished its sittings in March. The claims amounted to £62,000,000; £9,500,000 is provided for the settlement—£5,000,000 has been allotted for this purpose to the Orange River Colony, and the balance to the Transvaal.

The railway from the Cape to Cairo has now reached 360 miles north of Victoria Falls and about 16 miles from Broken Hill.

**SOUTH AFRICA : NATAL.**—Bambaata, an influential chief in Natal, having revolted and killed his uncle, who had been appointed in his stead, gathered around him other tribes, and organized a rebellion in Natal. This has from time to time caused expeditions to be sent out for his capture, and to allay the rebellion. A considerable number of engagements took place, natives were killed, and several officers and men sent against him. He was fatally wounded on June 6. Sigananda, his chief ally, subsequently surrendered. The Natal authorities are using every means to restore peace and loyalty among the other disaffected tribes.

**AFRICA : SOMALILAND.** — Captain H. E. Cordeaux, Deputy Commissioner, has been appointed Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the Somaliland Protectorate in room of General Swayne, who has been appointed Governor of British Honduras.



The new military defence arrangements for the Protectorate have been completed. They include the establishment of an Indian contingent. The country has been divided into sections, each section having a tribal headman, who is responsible. Political officers have been sent from England to control the tribes and the militia. The military position in the Protectorate is considered satisfactory.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA: NIGERIA.—The Emir of Gando—an important district to the south of Sokoto—who promised assistance to the rebels in the recent Sokoto rising, has been deposed by the High Commissioner, and deported to Lokoja. A new Emir has been appointed in his stead.

On May 3 the British expedition under Colonel Lowry Cole gained, after five hours' fighting, a decisive success over the people of Hodeija, and captured the King.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA: SOUTHERN NIGERIA.—Letters Patent, constituting the colony of Southern Nigeria, were proclaimed at Lagos on April 30, also at Yoruba, in the presence of immense crowds. Lagos was decorated, and the day was observed as a public holiday.

AFRICA: RHODESIA.—The revenue for the financial year 1905-1906 was £523,673, being £5,122 in excess of the estimate. The expenditure amounted to £500,097; as compared with the estimate of £531,349.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA PROTECTORATE.—Mr. Charles James Griffin, Attorney-General, has been appointed Judge of the High Court of British Central Africa.

EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE.—Colonel J. A. L. Montgomery, C.S.I., late Commissioner in the Punjab, has been appointed Commissioner of Lands in the East Africa Protectorate.

AFRICA: MOROCCO.—The recent conference of the Powers interested in Morocco, held at Algeciras, closed its sittings on April 7. The exact details of the arrangements have not been published on our going to press.

The formal reception of the Italian Mission by the

Sultan took place on June 5 at Fez, when Signor Malmusi presented his credentials.

AUSTRALASIA : THE COMMONWEALTH.—The Premiers' Conference at Sydney on April 10 passed resolutions in favour of the promotion of immigration.

On April 12, at the above Conference, the Premiers of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia agreed to a scheme of construction of locks on the rivers Murray and Murrumbidgee, and also on the appointment of a commission to control the work. The work is to begin as soon as the agreement has been ratified by the Parliaments of the respective States. The total expense is estimated at £2,250,000.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The trade for the first four months of the year has been very brisk. The imports showed an increase of £804,679 and exports £3,106,806, and the yield in gold £110,160.

The net revenue for the eleven months of the fiscal year ending June 30 is £11,151,396, as compared with £10,243,182 of the same period of last year.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—Sir E. A. Stone, late Chief Justice, has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the State of Western Australia.

NEW ZEALAND.—The revenue for the year ending March 31 was £7,628,300 and expenditure £7,114,300.

Mr. Seddon, the Prime Minister, died suddenly on June 10 on board the steamship *Oswestry Grange*.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The population according to the budget presented in April is over 230,000. For the fiscal year ended June, 1905, the revenue amounted to £514,800 and expenditure to £488,800.

According to a trade report recently issued at St. John's for the past seven years, covering the period since the Colony recovered from the effects of the bank failures, shows that the value of imports has increased from £1,262,248 to £2,053,858, and exports from £1,387,263 to £2,133,868.

CANADA. — The following changes took place in the Canadian Cabinet on June 2 : Mr. Fitzpatrick was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Aylesworth became Minister of Justice, and Mr. Lemieux Postmaster-General.

The Alberta legislature has selected Edmonton as the capital of the province.

The revenue for the ten months of the present fiscal year, ending April 30, was \$63,808,359, as compared with \$57,130,511 last year, an increase of \$6,677,848. The expenditure for the same period was \$55,780,268, an increase of \$4,341,433.

Mr. D. C. Fraser has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.

Mr. James Dunsmuir has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.

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*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following :—Frederick James Tidmarsh, late Colonel 33rd Duke of Wellington's Regiment ;—Major-General A. Clark Kennedy, Indian army, entered 1862 (Egyptian War 1882, Burmese expedition 1887-88, Chin Lushat expedition 1889-90) ;—Major Charles E. Gubbins, of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, late Bengal Staff Corps (Afghan war 1879, Burmese expedition 1886-87) ;—Major F. J. N. Ind, late 37th Regiment (Mutiny 1857-58) ;—Major John Arthur Rowlandson, late of Bombay army ;—Lieutenant-Colonel F. L. Hopkinson Lyon (Crimean campaign and Indian Mutiny) ;—Charles Brettingham, M.R.C.S., L.S.A., late Surgeon Bengal army ;—Major-General H. A. Dwyer, late Bengal Staff Corps (Sutlej campaign 1846, Indian Mutiny campaign, siege of Delhi) ;—Colonel G. A. Furse, late Indian army, joined 1855 (Indian campaign 1857-58, Ashanti war 1873-74, Nile expedition 1884-85) ;—Samuel Lawrence Bagshawe, Colonel retired list, Madras army ;—Deputy-Surgeon-

General John Tulloch, late Medical Staff 10th Regiment (Indian Mutiny campaign, Lucknow, etc.);—General Sir W. Stirling, K.C.B. (Crimean campaign 1854-55, Indian Mutiny, Kotoh, China, Afghanistan 1878-79);—Sir George Thomas Michael O'Brien, late Bengal Civil Service;—Colonel Charles Kyrle Chatfield, late 51st Light Infantry (Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expedition 1887);—Lieutenant-Colonel James Barry Slater, late Indian Staff Corps;—Hon. Gilbert Stuart Henderson, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta;—Lieutenant-General Sir Gerald de Courcy Morton (private secretary to Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab 1871-77, Afghan campaign 1878-80);—Surgeon-Major Francis Henry Plumptre, late of Bombay army (Persian campaign 1856-57, Abyssinian campaign 1867-68); Arthur Ramsay Macdonald, late I.C.S.;—James Mackenzie Maclean (from 1863-79 proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette*, published "Guide to Bombay");—Sir James Braithwaite Peile, K.C.S.I., sometime member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India;—Robert Taylor, late Bengal Civil Service;—Colonel Charles K. Chatfield (Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expedition 1887);—Colonel A. J. Fitzgerald (Mooltan, Goojerat, Ensofzaie);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. K. Macpherson (joined 1865, appointed Cantonment Magistrate in the Punjab 1871, officiated as Deputy Judge-Advocate-General at Calcutta and Allahabad 1886-88 and 1892-93); Major Robert Dwarris Dwarris (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Indian Mutiny 1857);—Major David Simpson, of the Indian Medical Service (Chin-Lushai expedition 1889-90, Manipore expedition 1891);—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Doyle Patterson, 10th Foot (Sikh war 1845-46, Sutlej campaign, Sobraon, Punjab 1848-49, Gujerat);—General Sir Henry Edward Landor Thuillier, Kt., C.S.I., Colonel-Commandant Royal (late Bengal) Artillery;—William Herbert Lee, M.A., I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Bengal;—Major-General Alexander James Bruce, H.E.I.C.S., late Mysore Commission;—Gerald Edwin Hall, A.M.I.C.E., late Resident

Engineer of Benares ;—William McChlery, late Bengal Civil Service ;—Samuel Henry Nixon, Meerut, N.W.P. ;—Major Percy Edward Henderson, Bengal Staff Corps (retired) ;—Frederick Charles Danvers, East India Company Service and India Office ;—Colonel W. F. de H. Curtis, late Royal Horse Artillery (Abyssinian campaign 1867-68) ;—Surgeon-General Sibthorpe (Afghan war 1878-79, Burmese campaign 1885-86) ; Lieutenant-Colonel Sir William Gordon Bort (Crimea, India 1857-58) ; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Norton James Goodwyn, D.S.O. (Burmese war 1891-92, West Coast of Africa 1898-99) ; Major C. Onslow Reid, Deputy Commissioner, Kyankhya ;—Colonel Walter Richard Lascelles (Lucknow 1857, Chinese war 1860-61, Nile campaign 1884-85) ;—Major H. W. Elphick, Indian Medical Service ;—William H. Lee, I.C.I., District and Sessions Judge, Berhampore ;—Herbert Wace, C.M.G., Agent and acting Colonial Secretary, Central Province, Ceylon ;—Major Eugene Le Mesurier, Indian army, Political Department, Government of India ;—William Marshall, F.R.G.S., F.S.A., F.I.I., late of Indian navy ;—Major-General Hugh Norris Hodgson, late Bengal Staff Corps ;—Colonel Henry Fraser, late Madras Light Infantry ;—Henry John Tedder, M.A. (St. Andrews), I.C.S., Assistant Commissioner, Fyzabad, U.P. ;—Colonel Francis Dashwood Ogilvie, late Bengal Staff Corps ;—Colonel Sir F. H. Jenkins, K.C.B., entered 1851 (Indian Mutiny campaign, Punjab Frontier Force 1877-79), Aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria from 1879 to 1885.

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CHINA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS JAPAN AND  
RUSSIA.

BY SIR R. K. DOUGLAS.

THE diplomatic tactics pursued by China during the recent war were precisely those which have always guided the policy of that huge and inert nation in similar circumstances. Li Hung Chang, who directed the destinies of his country for so many years, left on record his idea of what the action, or rather inaction, of China should be towards the two combatants. In a despatch which has been published he gave his countrymen the following cynical advice: They should, in his opinion, do nothing, and may so hope to reap some advantages, whichever side issued victorious from the conflict. If victory should declare in favour of Russia, Japan would suffer extinction, and a possible enemy would thus be removed from the Eastern seas; while in the destruction of a former foe China would enjoy the additional gratification of a satisfied revenge. If, on the other hand, Japan should emerge successful from the contest, Russia's hold of Manchuria would be weakened, a check would be inflicted on a formidable neighbour, and peace would be insured on the frontier for a generation at least.

The line of policy thus sketched by Li was faithfully followed by the Peking authorities. At the same time the Emperor's advisers have not hesitated to profit by the

superior knowledge and military skill of the victors in the fight. They have never shown any hostility to the nations which at different times have vanquished them in the field. Their lofty contempt for the military art softens the blow of defeat, and attributes the success of their foes to a kind of prowess which is contemptible. When, however, arms have been laid aside, they have always shown themselves ready to profit by the skill and weapons of their former opponents, and following this course they have now sought the assistance of the Japanese drill-sergeants and mechanics to improve the material and tactics of their national army.

This, doubtless, is a wise step, and the Japanese have responded willingly to the invitation ; so that at the present moment the best armies in the northern and central provinces of the Empire are practising evolutions in obedience to Japanese words of command. Like opportunities were offered to us and to the French after the war of 1860, and again after the Boxer outbreak. But there were two reasons why these arrangements proved to be only temporary. The Chinese require stimulating influences to induce them to carry out reforms, and Europeans lack the qualities which supply this necessary impetus. The Japanese, on the other hand, have long been in close touch with the Chinese. They have absorbed their literature, and have adopted much of their philosophy and religion. Thus, in many of their ideas and modes of thought they are closely allied to their Continental neighbours, and to this day are to some extent influenced by the dicta of Confucius and the doctrines of Buddha. These affinities place the Japanese in a distinctly advantageous position in regard to the Chinese, and in one to which we cannot aspire. A wide gulf separates the European from the Chinese. Their views of life and of conduct, of their duty to their country, and of their relations with their fellow-men, differ widely, and it is difficult to point to a link connecting them. As a natural consequence we make constant mistakes in our dealings with the Chinese. We offend

their prejudices while trying to flatter their idiosyncrasies, and our impetuous ways outrage their sense of decorum.

With the Japanese it is not so. They have inherited like traditions, and have sat at the feet of those who have taught the Chinese wisdom. But though when the Japanese first became acquainted with their then more civilized neighbours and assimilated their literature they only made it apply to those parts of their system of life which were in harmony with it. In the peace-loving philosophies of Confucius and Mencius there is no place, for example, for the "Bushido," of which we have heard so much lately. This side of the Japanese character was derived, not from books, but from Nature herself, and no amount of teaching will ever make this flower of chivalry take root and blossom in the very uncongenial soil of China. Thus, while the two nations have much to unite them, it would be practically impossible to unify them. During the whole stages of their histories they have followed divergent courses. The Japanese have from their earliest days been a fighting race, while the Chinese have as persistently followed the peaceful pursuits of literature and commerce. The result is that, while one nation has earned for herself an honoured place among the most powerful States in the world, the other has sunk into a state of impotence and decay, relieved every now and then by a futile attempt to rejuvenate herself.

One such period has arrived, and the Chinese have done wisely in enlisting the aid of their former conquerors. For the present there seems to be a genuine desire on the part of the Peking authorities to benefit by the kindly intentions of the Japanese, and in other directions besides those of the despised military art.

For several years batches of Chinese students have been sent to Japan to study the methods by which the people of that favoured land transformed, as in a moment of time, a feudal state into a modern constitutional Empire. It is easy to imagine the Chinese youths, straight from the self-



seeking society of their fellow-countrymen, being struck dumb with amazement when they learned to realize that it was owing mainly to the absolute self-abnegation of the official classes that such a reform became possible. Such patriotism is as foreign to the Chinese nature as it is allied to that of the Japanese.

A Chinaman finds it hard to regard the Throne as a rallying-point on which to centre the nation's reverent affection. A selfish individualism is his leading characteristic, and thus it must always be borne in mind that, before he can expect to approach the high level of Japanese patriotism, he must learn to put his full trust in his newly-found ally, and adopt unhesitatingly her progressive counsels. Throughout the complex negotiations which preceded the late war Japan showed herself well worthy to be so trusted. She announced that the main objects of her diplomacy, and afterwards of her military efforts, were to prevent the absorption of Manchuria by Russia, and to maintain the integrity of China. From these views she has never swerved, and she is as ready now, as she has always been, to maintain the existing frontier of China against all comers. In this, in the opinion of her statesmen, her own safety, as well as that of China, consists ; and it would be well that China should recognise the solidarity of the interests of the two nations. Unhappily, there are not wanting signs that the Peking authorities entertain some suspicion as to the motives of the Japanese in their professed anxiety for the safety of China, a suspicion which has been carefully fostered by the Russians. And it is this supposed "fly in the ointment" which delayed the signing of the treaty which had become necessary from the altered conditions of the two States. This treaty (signed December 22, 1905), fully carries out the conditions for which the Japanese have always contended. The following are the main features of the document :

As indicated above, China grants to Japan a lease of the

Liaotung peninsula, and gives that Power the control of the railway on the peninsula as far as Changchun. China also concedes to Japan the right to build a railway from Antung on the Yalu to Mukden. But the most important article, and one which is of the greatest possible interest to the world at large, is that by which China agrees to open to the commerce of all nations sixteen of the principal ports and cities of Manchuria, including Karbin. Thus the fruition of Japan's far-sighted designs has become an accomplished fact, and furnishes another instance of the persistency of her policy. When she buckled on her armour she proclaimed that she was about to fight for the commercial equality of all nations, and for the restoration of Manchuria to China ; and now, when she is laying aside her weapons, she is able to point to this treaty, which vindicates her estimate of her powers, and is a triumphant justification of her aims.

It cannot be too often repeated that it is only by means of a frank and whole-hearted alliance with Japan, such as is foreshadowed in the above treaty, and a genuine adoption of her progressive system, that China can hope to maintain her integrity against the machinations, both secret and open, which threaten her very existence as an independent Empire.

It will be observed that, while restoring Manchuria to China, Japan imposes such conditions as will make it impossible for Russia to renew the war for a generation at least. These conditions she is fully entitled to enforce, and however Russia may, after her usual manner, cabal and scheme against them, it is quite certain that she will not yield one inch. The Japanese Government understands the statesmen of the Neva perfectly, and it is not likely to be imposed upon by promises however specious, or threats however fierce-sounding.

The condition of affairs at the close of the war illustrated the relations existing between the two combatants on the one hand, and Russia's victim, China, on the other. While Japan was looking to such a development of the

resources of China as would enable that unwieldy State to preserve her independence, and so to act as a bulwark against the Russian advance in Eastern Asia, Russia was straining every nerve to keep her weak, dependent, and ignorant. The whole history of Russian relations with China tells the same story. From the Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689 down to the present day it is one long record of advances into Chinese territory, enforced retirements for a time, and ultimate occupations of frontier lands to which she has not the smallest claim.

A more typical example of Russian wiles at Peking could not be imagined than that furnished by a successful act of diplomacy affected by General Ignatieff in 1860. At that time the allied armies of England and France were investing Peking, at which Court General Ignatieff was resident. Taking advantage of the straits in which the Chinese Government found itself at the crisis, he so worked on the fears of the Regent, Prince Kung, that he was able to persuade that hapless Prince that it was through his (General Ignatieff's) interposition alone that the city could be saved from destruction. So successfully did he ply his arguments that the Prince was induced as compensation for this supposed friendly act to sign away in a convention the territory between the river Ussuri in Manchuria and the sea. Russia thus by a stroke of the pen acquired the southern portion of the province of Primorsk, or, in other words, a coast-line extending for 700 miles, including the port of Vladivostock.

This acquisition of territory by no means satisfied the craving for Far Eastern lands possessed by Russia. Vladivostock is not, after all, a warm-water port, and the statesmen on the Neva turned longing eyes on the open harbours of Korea. China's difficulty has always been Russia's opportunity, and taking advantage of a dispute which was raging between China, Japan, and Korea in 1885, that Power stepped in and proposed a convention which would have virtually placed the whole of Korea

under the protection of the Tsar. It is difficult to keep diplomatic secrets in the East, and, happily, this intrigue became known before it was too late, but not before the King of Korea had found sufficient support from the other European Powers to enable him to decline with assurance the proffered protection of Russia.

Oriental politics are conducted on such different lines to those which prevail in Europe that they are often difficult to reconcile with usage. Traditionally, Russia has always posed as a supporter of China, though from time to time she has robbed her of territories and acquired from her rights to which she has no sort of title. But it is a peculiarity of the Chinese mind that it is able to accept two opposite propositions without recognising the natural contradiction between the two; and thus Russia has been able to pose one day as the friend of China, and the next as her oppressor and plunderer. She was thus taking up one of her accustomed rôles when, in 1894, she intervened in favour of China, then brought to her knees by Japan. It will be remembered that Russia so successfully championed the cause of the integrity of China that she induced the Japanese to retire from the Liaotung peninsula. This mediatorial action was supplemented by a convention executed at Moscow in 1896, confirming the principle of the integrity of China, by which the two Powers bound themselves in case of aggression by Japan against Russia, China, or Korea, to lend each other mutual support. It is characteristic of Russian diplomacy to find commercial or strategic privileges tacked on to apparently self-denying treaties, and it is therefore not a matter for surprise that we find clauses inserted in this convention whereby the authorization to prolong the Trans-Siberian Railway to Vladivostock over Chinese territory is accorded. Then, *per contra*, followed the seizure of Port Arthur, by which act of plunder the spirit of the Moscow Treaty was falsified, and the idea of the integrity of China was thrown to the winds.

In the preliminary negotiations which preceded the present war the Japanese strove to induce Russia to enter into an engagement to respect the independence and integrity of China and Korea, and to maintain the principle of the "open door" for the trade and industry of all nations. In the convention thus proposed it was laid down that Russia should not put any obstacles in the way of the eventual extension of the Korean railway as far as southern Manchuria, and that Japan should have the exclusive right of giving advice and assistance to the Koreans in the interests of the good government of that country, the necessary military aid being included. But Russian policy had advanced by leaps and bounds since the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty, and the well-meant efforts of the Japanese met with no response. The Muscovites were committed to enterprises and advances with which the integrity of the "Middle Kingdom" was quite incompatible, and they scorned the idea that any attempt of a yellow race to stay their career should meet with even a show of success.

Meanwhile the Chinese have, following Li Hung Chang's advice, been doing nothing. They still entertain a sincere dread of their northern neighbour, and in their view it is more important to be on good terms with a Power whose territories are only divided from theirs by an imaginary line than with a State separated from her coast-line by the sea.

Perhaps it is too much to hope, however, that China may speedily learn from past experience the worthlessness of the friendship of Russia, but the time will surely come when she will realize the wisdom of putting her faith in the Japanese, who have never played her false, and with whom she is so closely allied by race and tradition.

## SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.\*

BY THE HON. G. K. GOKHALE, C.I.E.

My object in preparing this paper is to lay before your readers briefly, and I hope clearly, what are to-day the ideas and aspirations of the vast majority of those Indians who have come under the influence of Western thought in regard to the government of their country. I think it will be generally admitted that the dissatisfaction in India with the existing system of administration has been for some time past rapidly growing, and we have now reached a stage when it is necessary for the rulers, if further alienation between the two sides is to be prevented, to make a bold and statesmanlike attempt to win back the confidence of the educated classes of the country. These classes have in the past been led to believe that the sole aim of British rule in India was the welfare of the Indian people, and that under that rule no distinction would be made between Indians and Europeans in the government of the country on grounds of race or creed or colour. The Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of the late Queen of 1858 have pledged the word of the Sovereign and the Parliament of this country—the only two authorities that can claim to speak in the name of the English nation—to such a policy. And till a few years ago, whatever might have been thought of the pace at which we were going, there was no general disposition to doubt the intention of the rulers to redeem their plighted word. To-day, however, the position is no longer the same. Things *have* moved even in dreamy and contemplative India, and many, without doubt, of your readers, who in their time have held high, and in some cases distinguished, official positions in that country, must have been startled recently to read in the columns of such eminently Conservative journals as the *Times* and

\* For discussion on this paper see report of the proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

the *Morning Post* the accounts of the ferment in India witnessed by their special correspondents, and the significance they found it necessary to attach to that ferment. There is no doubt that the old faith of the people in the character and ideals of British rule has been more than shaken, and its place is being steadily taken by a conviction that, however great England may be, she is not great enough to forego voluntarily the gains of power from considerations of mere justice or national honour. I do not say that such a view is quite just to the average man or woman of this country. Probably the democracy here will not tolerate such complete exclusion of the Indians from their own government, if the real character of the present system of administration is clearly brought home to its mind. But whatever its sympathies in the abstract may be, they are rendered inoperative, first, by its absorption in questions of domestic interest; and, secondly, by the dense and impenetrable ignorance about India that prevails in this land on all sides. Moreover, the people of India can judge of the intentions of Englishmen only from their experience of those who go out to India to exercise authority over them, and I think it is no injustice to this class to say that most of its members show no particular anxiety to part with any portion of the power they at present enjoy, or to associate more than they can help the people of the country with themselves in the work of administration.

I know there are those who think that no serious importance need be attached to the temper or opinions of the educated classes of India: first, because numerically they are a small—as one Viceroy said, “a microscopic”—minority; and, secondly, because there are so many caste and creed divisions in India that united action on the part of the people in support of the views of the educated classes is impossible. It is true that as far as mere numbers go, those who have received Western education in India form but a small proportion of the entire population, only a little

over a million persons being returned at the last census as "literate in English" out of nearly three hundred millions. But there can be no greater mistake than to imagine that the influence of this class in the country is proportionate only to its numbers. In the first place, these men constitute what may be called the brain of the community. They do the thinking, not only for themselves, but also for their ignorant brethren. Moreover, theirs is the Indian press—both English and vernacular—and the vernacular press shapes the thoughts and sways the feelings, not only of the fifteen million "literates in vernaculars" whom it reaches directly, but also of many more millions who come indirectly under its influence. And whatever public opinion exists in the country reflects almost entirely the views of the educated classes. The officials sometimes look to old historic families, which in more turbulent times supplied leaders to the country, to exert a rival influence; but they have now lost their former hold on the public mind, because in these days of peace and of transition, rusty, broken swords cannot compete with ideas as a source of importance and power. The influence of the educated classes with their countrymen is thus already very great, and is bound every day to grow greater and greater. As regards caste and creed divisions even these are not now so acute as they once were. Half a century of Western education, and a century of common laws, common administration, common grievances, and common disabilities have not failed to produce their natural effect even in India. The awakening of the Mohammedans of Alighar to the necessity of political agitation is a significant sign of the times. It is most improbable that the Alighar programme, when drawn up, will be found to be substantially different from the Congress programme, and though the new organization may maintain its separate existence for a while, it must inevitably merge itself sooner or later into the larger and older organization of the National Congress.

I think those who are responsible for the government of



India have now got to realize two facts : first, that any further alienation of the educated classes would be a course of supreme political unwisdom ; and, secondly, that such alienation cannot be prevented unless the faith of these classes in the desire of the rulers to carry out the policy of the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 is restored. Whatever a certain school of officials in India may say, the bulk of educated Indians have never in the past desired a severance of the British connection. Not only was their reason enlisted on its side, but in the earlier years, at any rate, even their imagination had been captured by it. The fact that a small island at one end of the world had by an astonishing succession of events been set to rule over a vast country, inhabited by an ancient and civilized race, at the other end ; the character of the new rulers as men who had achieved constitutional liberty for themselves, and who were regarded as friends of freedom all over the world ; their noble declarations of policy in regard to India—these were well calculated to cast a spell on the Indian mind. While the blessings of continued peace and of order well established ; the introduction into the country of the higher and more vigorous administrative standards of the West ; the establishment of Universities and schools, throwing open to the people the rich treasures of Western knowledge, and bringing them under the influence of Western ideas ; the dispensing of equal justice between Indian and Indian ; liberty of speech and liberty of writing ; railways, post-offices, telegraphs, and other modern appliances of material civilization—these were solid and undeniable advantages brought to the people, which for a long time continued to be a theme of genuine and unstinted appreciation. The spell, however, is already broken, and even the hold on the reason is steadily slackening. A tendency has set in to depreciate even those advantages which at one time were most cordially acknowledged. And the disadvantages of the situation—wounded self-respect, inability to grow to the full height

of one's stature, a steady deterioration in the manhood of the nation, and economic evils of vast magnitude inseparable from such foreign domination—these evils which, while the spell lasted, had not been realized with sufficient clearness, have now already begun to appear as intolerable. I think there is no room for doubt that the whole attitude of the Indian mind towards British rule is undergoing a change. As yet the vast majority does not clearly understand this change. It would like to remain, if it could, in the old familiar groove, and it feels surprised, pained, disappointed, indignant that it cannot remain in that groove, and is being driven in a direction which it does not understand. It is a critical juncture in the relations between England and India. The highest statesmanship is needed to deal with the situation, and every day the problem grows more and more difficult of solution.

After all, India's willing acceptance of the British connection can only be based on reason or enlightened self-interest. English officials in India often fail to realize the extent to which the policy laid down by the Sovereign and by Parliament has reconciled the thinking portion of the Indian community to British rule. They seem to think that as that policy has been allowed hitherto to remain for the most part a dead letter, it could not really have any serious practical bearing. There cannot be a more complete misconception of the whole situation than this. Throughout these long years the educated classes have not lost sight of the policy even for a single moment, and though their patience under its continued non-fulfilment—which at last has begun to give way—has worn to superficial observers the appearance of indifference, the belief that the pledges so solemnly given would not go unredeemed has, more than anything else, determined so long their attitude towards British rule. Once this attitude is allowed to undergo a change, such as it is now doing, the rulers will not be left long in doubt as to the great part which the Charter Act and the Queen's Proclamation have

had in insuring the loyalty of the people. It was a failure to perceive this which was responsible for the grave mistake which Lord Curzon committed more than two years ago, when he sought in open Council to explain away the Queen's Proclamation, and practically told the people of India that as long as British rule lasted there could be no real equality between Englishmen and Indians in India! It is sometimes said that the existing arrangements make for efficiency of administration, and in the interests of that efficiency it is necessary that they should not be disturbed. There is an air of plausibility about this plea, but those who urge it ignore the wisdom of an observation which the present Prime Minister once made, that "good government could never be a substitute for government by the people themselves!" On a closer examination, moreover, the contention will be found to be perfectly untenable. The efficiency attained by a foreign bureaucracy, uncontrolled by public opinion, whose members, again, reside only temporarily in the land in which they exercise official power, is bound to be of a strictly limited character, and it can never compare with that higher and truer efficiency which is possible only under a well-regulated system of self-government. The present form of administration in India is a strongly centralized bureaucracy, in which the men at the centre hold office for five years only. They then leave the country, carrying away with them all the knowledge and experience of administrative matters acquired at the expense of the country, and their places are taken by new men, who, in their turn, retire similarly after five years. As things are, there is no one ever in the Government who is permanently interested in the country as only its own people can be interested. One result is that the true well-being of the people is systematically subordinated to militarism, service interests, and the interests of English mercantile classes; and though under such a system peace and order may be maintained, and even a certain amount of efficient administration secured, the type of

efficiency is bound to remain a low one always. Moreover, it is clear that even such efficiency of administration, as has been attained in the past by the existing system is bound to suffer more and more, owing to the growing antagonism of the governed to that system. No man, for instance, ever laboured more strenuously for mere efficiency than Lord Curzon, and yet never was discontent deeper and more widespread than when he left India, and no Viceroy of recent times has had to succeed to a greater legacy of difficulties than Lord Minto.

It may be that bureaucracies, like the Bourbons, never learn; but it should really not be difficult for Englishmen to realize that you cannot have institutions like the Universities working for more than half a century in India, and then expect to be able to govern the people as though they were still strangers to ideas of constitutional freedom or to the dignity of national aspirations. Those who blindly uphold the existing system, and resist all attempts, however cautious and moderate, to broaden its basis, prefer practically to sacrifice the future to the present. No one denies the undoubted difficulties of the position, but they are by no means so formidable as those who do not want to move at all like to believe. The goal which the educated classes of India have in view is a position for their country in the Empire worthy of the self-respect of civilized people. They want their country to be a prosperous, self-governing, integral part of the Empire, like the Colonies, and not a mere poverty-stricken, bureaucratically-held possession of that Empire. The system under which India is governed at present is an unnatural system, and however one may put up with it as a temporary evil, as a permanent arrangement it is impossible, for under such a system "the noble, free, virile, fearless life," to use the words of a well-known American preacher, "which is the red blood of any nation, gradually becomes torpid," and nothing can compensate a people for so terrible a wrong. Of course we recognise that the new self-government has to be on Western lines,

and therefore the steps by which the goal is reached must necessarily be slow, as, for the advance to be real, it must be from experiment to experiment only. But there is all the difference in the world between such cautious progress and no progress at all; and the bureaucracy which, by standing in the way of all reasonable instalments of reform, hopes to prevent reform altogether, is only undermining its own position by such a short-sighted and suicidal policy. The officials in theory admit the necessity of associating the people with the government of the country, but they object to admitting only a small proportion of the population to a share in the administration, and they ask us to wait till the mass of the people have been qualified by education to take an intelligent part in public affairs! At the same time, how much or how little is being done to push on mass education may be seen from the fact that, after more or less a century of British rule, and forty years after England herself woke up to the responsibilities of Governments in regard to mass education, seven children out of eight in India are growing up to-day in ignorance and darkness, and four villages out of five are as yet without a school-house! Moreover, it is ignored that what is asked at the present stage is a voice in the administration, not for the whole population, but only for those who have been qualified by education to exercise their responsibilities in a satisfactory manner. As regards the bulk of the people, it is recognised that education has got to come first, and what is urged is that this educational work should be pushed on in the most vigorous manner possible.

It is true, as I have already admitted, that an Oriental country cannot hope to advance on Western lines, except by cautious and tentative steps. But what Japan has been able to achieve in forty years, India should certainly have accomplished in a century. The attitude of the two Governments in the matter has, however, been one of the main elements of difference in the two cases. My concern, however, is more with the present and the future than with

the past. And here I repeat that, unless the old faith of the educated classes in the character and ideals of British rule is brought back, England will find on her hands before long another Ireland, only many times bigger, in India. The younger generations are growing up full of what may be called Irish bitterness, and the situation must fill all who believe in the peaceful progress of the country under British rule with anxious apprehensions. If India is to attain self-government within the Empire—an idea which to an increasing proportion of my countrymen appears to be a vain dream—the advance will have to be along several lines more or less simultaneously. Of these, in some respects the most important is the admission of Indians to the higher branches of the public service. As long as India continues to be bureaucratically governed, admission to high office will be a test of the position assigned to the Indians in the system of administration. It is not a mere question of careers for young men—though even that view is entitled to weight, and the bureaucracy certainly behaves at times as though the most important question before it was how to retain and, if possible, increase the existing number of openings for the employment of Englishmen in India—but it is a measure of our advance towards that equality which has been promised us by the Sovereign and by Parliament. Moreover, as the ranks of the bureaucracy come to be recruited more and more from among the Indians, its resistance to the control of taxpayers' representatives will grow less and less. At present only the field of law—and there, too, only a portion of it—is freely open to us, and we find Indians there climbing right to the top of the tree. And if my countrymen are thought to be qualified to discharge the duties of Chief Justice and Advocate-General, it is preposterous that they should be kept out of the superior ranks of Excise and Opium and Salt and Customs and Post and Telegraph and Survey, and similar other services. Under present arrangements India's true centre of gravity is in London. We protest against

this most unnatural arrangement, and we urge most strongly that all competitive examinations for recruitment to Indian services should be held, not in London only, but simultaneously in India and in England. And we claim to be admitted now to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Madras and Bombay, as also to the Secretary of State's Council in this country. Next, we want district administration—which is the unit of administration in India—to be decentralized. On the one hand, it must be freed from the present excessive control of the secretariat of the central Government and its numerous special departments; and on the other, the people of the district must be provided with opportunities to influence its course more and more largely, till at last the officials become in fact, as they are in theory, the servants of the people. The first step towards this is to associate with the heads of districts, for purposes of general administration, boards of leading men elected by the people, at first, perhaps, merely advisory, but gradually entrusted with increasing powers of control. In this way an administration conducted with the real consent of the governed may in course of time be substituted for the present system of administration carried on in the dark and behind the backs of the people concerned, with its attendant evils of confidential reports and police surveillance. Then, local self-government must be carried further. It still remains all over the country where it was placed by Lord Ripon a quarter of a century ago, and in some places it has even been pushed back. Local bodies should now be made in the more advanced localities wholly popular assemblies, and while the control of the Government over them must not be weakened, they should be freed from all petty and harassing interference on the part of officials. As regards Legislative Councils, the position is more difficult. Of course, the next instalment, whenever it comes, can, I think, be clearly foreseen. The enlargement of the Councils, the widening of their functions so that Budgets should be really discussed and passed, an increase

in the proportion of elected members up to the point at which the officials will still have a small standing majority—these changes may sooner or later appear safe enough even to the official mind. But the advance beyond that is really the thing that will matter, and it is not easy to see how it will come about. As long as the higher branches of the public service continue to be a practical monopoly of Englishmen, there is small chance of the Legislative Councils being entrusted with any substantial share of control over the actions of the Executive, and this consideration emphasizes still further the necessity of steadily Indianizing the services of the country. In the army, too, our position must be generally improved, and the commissioned ranks now thrown open to carefully selected Indians. Side by side with these reforms, mass education must be taken vigorously in hand, so that in twenty years from now, if not earlier, there should be free and compulsory education in the country for both boys and girls.

I think that an earnest and sustained advance along these lines will go far to prevent any further alienation of the educated classes, and even their old goodwill may thus be regained. I cannot say that I have much hope that any such policy will be at once adopted.



## "SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA."

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE HON. G. K. GOKHALE FROM  
MR. J. B. PENNINGTON.

DEAR SIR,

I will begin, like my friend Mr. Thorburn, by assuring you (if you need assurance on the point) that I sympathize most sincerely with the aspirations and ideas of the more reasonable men like yourself and many others of the "intellectual," highly-educated Indians of all creeds and classes, and then proceed (as Mr. Thorburn did) to state my objections to much of what you said, and, perhaps, to your way of saying it. I will also follow Mr. Thorburn in criticising your paper *seriatim*, because it is the most convenient plan for anyone who happens to read both papers, but I have no wish whatever to assume the rôle of pedagogue correcting a pupil's exercise. I shall merely express my opinions plainly, as you express yours, and I am sure you are not the man to complain of that so long as I observe the usual courtesies of debate and only say what I really think, and what I think ought to be said. The worst of personal discussion is that one is apt to say things that had better have been left unsaid, and say them in an unnecessarily aggressive tone, as I dare say Mr. Thorburn would willingly admit by this time.

I am obliged to begin with an old dispute, because you repeat the old charge of a breach of faith on the very first page of your paper without fairly stating the case on the other side. I say without hesitation that, speaking generally, no distinction is made between Indians and Europeans on grounds of race or creed or colour. All are equally eligible for the Civil Service, and some, like Mr. Dutt, have risen to the highest posts under the Government of India. Much more might be done for the advancement of competent Indians, but it is *not the fact* that they are excluded on account of their race, their creed,

or their colour, but simply because a certain backing of English is essential if England is to be responsible for the safety of India. Nor is it true that any such *absolute* pledge as you describe was ever made either in 1833 or 1858; it was always conditional on the British supremacy being unchallenged. This is perfectly clear from the speeches made at the time, and most candidly quoted by Mr. Dadabhai in his encyclopædic work, and any other interpretation of the language is obviously incompatible with the continuance of our rule in India as long as the army is mainly dependent on Englishmen, and (still more) on English officers. If you think the country could be safeguarded, or even governed, without an English army, or that a purely Indian Administration could control such an army, I have nothing more to say. There is no question of national honour involved. The present system is a *necessity*, and, though I believe it might be modified and even improved by a far larger admission of Indians to Administrative appointments, and a corresponding reduction in the number of Europeans, that would not materially alter the character of the Administration, or very largely reduce the Home charges. In point of fact there is no such thing as "complete exclusion of the Indians from their own Government." The Civil Service is open to all, though you seem to ignore the fact, and there is never a year without some successful Indian candidates, who have often, like Mr. Dutt, risen to the highest rank. I am sorry, but I cannot refrain from saying that it is, in my opinion, almost criminal to mislead the English democracy, colossally ignorant as you admit it is, by such unqualified statements as you make on this point. Speaking generally, your proposals as to self-government, especially your idea of assisting (?) the Collector by a Board of amateurs who would learn their business at his expense, seem to me to be far less practical than those of Mr. Smeaton. Why not press for a trial of his scheme to begin with? It seems to me perfectly feasible almost at once, and would be a long

step in the right direction, which would go far to convince the better class of Indian officials that we are really anxious to enlarge their opportunities of usefulness. If it is true, as you say, that "most of the members of the Service nowadays do not care to associate the people of the country with themselves in the work of administration," I can only deplore the fact as most disastrous to the Government of the country. After all, in Madras, at any rate, we know quite well that every district which, as you say, is the true unit of Administration, is (and always has been) governed *either* by a Collector, with the aid of a Sheristadar\* (as we call him), *or* by the Sheristadar with a backing of Collector; and to say that the Indians have *no* share in the Administration is to ignore that very important functionary most absurdly.

You say that "the true well-being of the people is *systematically* subordinated to militarism, service interests, and the "interests of the English mercantile classes"; but what is there, (as I have often asked in vain,) in the theory or practice of the Indian Government which prevents any Indian from prospering as Mr. Tata did, and as even Mr. Digby admitted that 60 millions of the people of India prosper under the present system? Twenty per cent. of fairly prosperous people is not a small proportion in any country; and if the rest of the people want their country to be more prosperous than it is, there is nothing, I venture to say, in the system of government to prevent them from making it so. As the English *Spectator* (I think) observed many years ago, the misfortune is that the Hindu is too easily content with a bare subsistence, and is more inclined to suffer than to struggle. The fact that so large a proportion prosper in spite of a relaxing climate proves beyond all possibility of dispute that most of the rest could do so also if they chose to put their backs into their work. I still think Sir T. Mahdava Rau was nearer the truth than

\* I believe that in the north the Collector has a native personal assistant, who is an even more influential personage than our Sheristadar.

you when he said : " The longer one lives and reflects, the more clearly does one see that there is no nation in the world which suffers less from political evils, or more from *self-created* and therefore *avoidable* evils, than the Hindu," or words to that effect. Mahdava Rau was certainly not a thick-and-thin supporter of British rule, but he knew how to distinguish between real and imaginary blessings. To say that "the true welfare of the people is *systematically* subordinated to militarism is certainly, in my opinion, to say what is untrue; and to sneer at the desire for military efficiency as "militarism" does not alter the fact that an efficient army is one of the conditions of peace and prosperity. I would even make bold to say that the true well-being of the people is even yet, as it certainly was in my time, the main object in life of all the best officials, whether military or civil, though one must, of course, admit that there are black sheep in every flock. To read some of your remarks and allusions to the Bourbons, etc., one might almost suppose that no progress had ever been made in the administration of the country; and you have no right to assume that because the officials do not jump at all the proposals of the National Congress, they hope to prevent reform altogether. I quite agree that progress might be a great deal more rapid, but we have no right to assume that more conservative minds than our own are actuated by evil motives.

Like so many people in every country, you are eager to lay all the blame for the want of general education on the Government, but in most countries education depended on private effort for hundreds of years, and there has never been anything to prevent the wealthy classes amongst your countrymen from doing what every missionary body with far inferior resources has done. The blessings of compulsory education are not so universally admitted even in this country that we should be in too great a hurry to impose it on the masses of India.

You say that what Japan has been able to achieve in

forty years India should certainly have accomplished in a century, but the circumstances of Japan and India are entirely different. Japan has always been a self-governed country from time immemorial. There are very few illuminating examples of one country being occupied and governed by another at an enormous distance since the Roman occupation of Britain, and the example of the Roman occupation and ultimate evacuation of Britain is a serious warning to the British in India as well as to the Indians themselves. The circumstances are not, of course, quite the same, but who can doubt that the consequences of evacuation by the English would be quite as ruinous to India as the departure of the Romans was to Britain? Certainly it would not be 600 years before India was thoroughly conquered again by some other foreign power—probably Russia—but the condition of Britain until it was conquered by a more intellectual race of pirates than those who had all but exterminated the original inhabitants is an object-lesson for the discontented and unwarlike Hindu, whose fate would not remain long in doubt. Surely Sir T. Mahdava Rau was a more trustworthy adviser than Mr. Gokhale, considerate and reasonable as he generally is.

Your own chairman, Lord Reay, pointed out very clearly what an advantage a European has in dealing with the conflicting races of India, and even with contending castes amongst the Hindus themselves; it is a natural advantage, not dependent on capacity or even "backbone." You say, of course, that you "have not much hope that your policy will be *at once* adopted"; but you certainly left it to be inferred by your audience of callow Indian youths that it *might* be adopted if the authorities in India were reasonably honest, and I must say I agree with Mr. Thorburn in regretting that a man of such intelligence should use language throughout this paper so unfortunately calculated to mislead an ill-informed audience into the belief that the Indians are being treated with gross injustice, and that some

remedy, *never very clearly indicated*, would be possible if it were not for the positive ill-will of those now engaged in the extremely difficult task of doing justice in India. You might learn greater moderation from your patriotic fellow-countryman, the editor of the *Hindu Patriot*; for, as he wisely observes, if the Government is to attach any importance to agitations "they should be carried on in a spirit of moderation and scrupulous regard to truth. But where a heated imagination is allowed to run riot in excesses, exaggeration of facts and vituperation and abuse of Government, criticism defeats its own object and does more harm than good" (*Hindu Patriot*, June 16, 1906).

For the reasons I have given in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1902, p. 280, and elsewhere, I do *not* believe in simultaneous examinations in India and London, and as long as the Civil Service is absolutely open to every Indian you have no right to say that the higher branches of the public service are a practical monopoly of Englishmen; but it is perfectly true that a certain proportion of English in the service is an absolute *sine qua non* as long as England is responsible for the government of India, and I think you must know this, though you do not let it appear. As far as I can see, you must be content for many years to come to be associated with the British on fairly equal terms in the present "bureaucratic" Government; no other is possible at present, and he is no true friend of India who raises hopes of the fulfilment of which there is no reasonably early prospect.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

P.S.—The above was written before I had seen the full report of the discussion on your paper in "India," or I might have almost discharged my conscience by simply saying ditto to Lord Reay, to whose trenchant remarks I notice you made no allusion in your reply. J. B.

## INDIA AND ANGLO-INDIA : SOME UNOFFICIAL IMPRESSIONS.\*

BY ARTHUR SAWTELL.

THE principal point to which I propose to invite the attention of your readers is the subject of the relations between the ruling race and the people in India. This is a matter regarding which a non-official European in an up-country station can hardly avoid forming certain definite impressions. He is not, as is the non-official in a Presidency town, one of a large and influential community, absorbed in its own interests. He occupies a somewhat isolated position—semi-detached, as it were, from the official world, and wholly separated from native life and society. While still a new-comer, he realizes how much the character of the relations between the rulers and the ruled depends upon the representatives of Government; and when he has spent many years in India, he may still have had no dealings with the people of the country, apart from those which his business may have necessitated. In this respect the non-official European is at a great disadvantage as compared with the official. He must make his own opportunities of gaining insight into native life and character. If Mahomet does not go to the mountain, the mountain will not move an inch towards him. A resident in a large station in Upper India once assured me that he had been inside the walls of the native city only once in seventeen years. Apart from his own babus and servants, the number of natives with whom he was on speaking terms might have been counted on the fingers of one hand. This may be an exceptional case. I cannot say whether it is or not. But it shows that the conditions of Anglo-Indian life favour that aloofness from the people of the country which is generally recognised as a handicap on the success of British rule in India.

\* For discussion on this paper see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

This separation is a fact which it would be difficult to exaggerate. No one can spend any length of time in India without feeling that the Anglo-Indian, in a far deeper sense than Gershom, the child of exile, is a stranger in a strange land. The gulf does not grow narrower as time goes on. The modern developments which are making the world smaller are in one sense increasing the distance between rulers and ruled in India. The motto of the P. and O. Steamship Company—*Quis separabit?*—has acquired an irony which those who selected it could not have foreseen. In bringing India and Europe closer together, the mail-steamers divide India and Anglo-India further apart. When it is so easy to “get home,” the Anglo-Indian becomes more than ever a mere sojourner within the gates. The lessening of the distance between London and Bombay has had the effect of making the Anglo-Indian community larger, more diversified, and therefore more self-sufficing. Candour compels the admission that chivalry is loth to make, and one is obliged to say that the memsahib is a contributory cause of the increased aloofness between the Englishman and the Indian in India. She has brought with her from England that upper-middle-class atmosphere in which the good qualities of the Englishman grow and flourish with all their corresponding defects. Thanks to her, the average civil station is a reproduction of Cheltenham or Ealing in an Eastern setting, and when the sahib drives away from *daftar* or *kacheri* in the evening, his pony carries him the whole distance that divides the East from the West. In establishing the domestic virtues and the exigent, if exiguous, interests of the social circle on Indian soil the memsahib has put an impassable *chevaux de frise* upon the wall between the sahib and the people.

That this is so cannot, I think, be gainsaid. Whether it be a good or a bad thing that under the influence of the memsahib the type of the old “Qui Hai” has disappeared, it is not my part to say. The fact is there, and it must be accepted as inevitable. Possibly it may be in the power of



the memsahib to mitigate the chilling effect of her presence upon the mutual relations of European and native. A few years ago Mrs. Flora Annie Steele provoked consternation in Anglo-Indian circles by suggesting that English ladies in India might do something towards cultivating intimacy with their native sisters. The idea of a system of visits between the zehana and the bungalow seemed to appal the memsahib's wonted equanimity. She shuddered at the prospect of conducting Ollendorfsian conversations in the vernacular about nothing in particular. Suggestions such as that of Mrs. Steele are perfectly natural, but Anglo-Indian opinion rarely takes them very seriously. They may bear some fruit here and there. *Purdah* parties, for example, at Government House or the Commissioner's *koti* are, I believe, less unusual than they were. But when all is said and done, the fact remains that the interchange of sympathy and ideas between the European and the native communities through the medium of social amenities is so difficult as to be wellnigh impracticable. The first thing necessary is a real desire on both sides for such interchange, and, so far as can be seen, that desire does not exist in any but a limited degree. Where some approach is made to social intercourse, there is the precedent condition of a loosening of the hold of custom in native circles, or the absence of *purdah*, with all that it implies as to the relation of the sexes.

While this social aloofness on the part of the ruling race in existing conditions is inevitable, it is not the less a matter for regret. In the first place, its reflex influence upon Anglo-Indian society is necessarily unfavourable. This is a point seldom seriously considered. We English are always prone to forget that we ourselves cannot remain unaffected by the character of our relations with other people. Possibly this is a proof of an essential humility and unselfishness in the British character. The Briton, I suppose, feels his own unimportance so profoundly that it seems to him not worth while to ask what effect a particular

relationship with a subject race will produce upon himself. When, for example, questions arise as to the treatment of uncivilized people, they are usually regarded only in the light of the uncivilized people concerned. The abolition of slavery in the West Indies has always been looked upon as a great blessing for the slaves. How often is it represented as an emancipation of the slave-owners? Similarly, in the present day, we think of the horrors of the Congo only as they affect the Congolese; their reflex influence upon the white men who cause them is thought to be a thing of no moment. *Pace* Lord Macaulay, the Puritan objection to bear-baiting because it gave pleasure to the spectators was founded upon a true sense of proportion. That a bear should suffer pain is regrettable; that human beings should derive pleasure therefrom is tragic.

To consider the relations between India and Anglo-India only in the light of their effect upon the people of India is surely to ignore an aspect of the case not wholly unimportant. All Englishmen who have lived in India—at any rate outside the Presidency towns—know what this separation between the races involves for the European. And anyone, whether he has ever been east of Suez or not, may readily understand that the position of an alien aristocracy, thrown back almost entirely upon itself for social, intellectual, and artistic enjoyment, has marked disadvantages. For the European in India there are no theatres, no music, no pictures. He is bereft of those stimulating enthusiasms which politics, philanthropy, or religion fosters among his countrymen at home. Over a great part of the country the satisfaction of beautiful scenery is denied him, and in many places sport, the chief consolation of the exiled Briton, involves long journeys and elaborate *bandobast*. These deprivations necessarily produce a certain effect on the temperament. Where the lot of the European is cast in small stations, with very little society, a certain dull pessimism is only too likely to take hold of him—not the pessimism of despair, but of that frame of mind which has

attained beatitude in expecting nothing. Like Stevenson's Weir of Hermiston, he goes on "climbing the great bare staircase of his duty, uncheered and undepressed." In larger centres, and especially in the hill stations, this isolation of the European community seems to produce a kind of frivolity, which, though generally harmless, is not intellectually enlarging. The conceptions of the home-keeping Briton, by the way, of the "tone" of European society in India are, as a rule, very foolish and very unjust. This is doubtless due to the rather stupid British habit of accepting the impressions of the novelist as though they were complete and accurate photographs. Anglo-Indians sometimes speak resentfully of the injustice which they consider has been done them by some modern authors. But the blame really rests upon the readers, who insist on investing romance with the qualities of a Blue book. In point of fact, the moral sanctions and restraints which obtain in English middle-class life are an active element in that atmosphere which the memsahib carries with her to the East. Mrs. Grundy finds the air of Anglo-India entirely congenial, and those who are rash enough to dispute her authority usually find that, in the expressive American phrase, they have "struck a snag"—that is to say, an obstacle which is none the less dangerous for not being entirely obvious. There is no lack of "Thou shalt nots" in the social code of Anglo-India. It is a complete mistake to imagine that the Decalogue cannot survive the passage of the Suez Canal, Mr. Kipling's soldier notwithstanding. Home-staying English people would do well to remember in this, as in other connections, that "what the soldier said is not evidence." But the self-contained and rather narrow life of the Anglo-Indian community undoubtedly reacts upon it in such a way as to intensify the very condition from which it arises. The difficulty of a British official's knowing and understanding the people becomes greater when his private and his public life are shut off into watertight compartments. It would, of course, be foolish to

wish for the affection of the Indian people. John Wesley, as quoted recently by the United States Ambassador, declared that he who loves you for your political service loves you less than his dinner ; while he who hates you for your political service hates you worse than the devil. This is as true of races as of persons, and to expect the love of the Indian people would be to expect the unattainable. We should, however, not only expect, but aim at securing the trust of the people. This is, we must suppose, the aim of the Government of India, but the necessary difficulty of its attainment is increased by the admitted aloofness of the ruling race. Only a slight acquaintance with India is sufficient to be aware that the talk of the bazaars and the comments of the native press are too often informed by a spirit of distrust. A single instance may serve to indicate the feeling that prevails. A few years ago an unaccountable rumour gained currency in the Punjab to the effect that the Government of India contemplated the deposition of the Maharaja of Kashmir, and the inclusion of his State in British India. I was in Lahore at the time, and a few inquiries in certain quarters confirmed the impression, created by the repeated hints of the native press, that there was a widespread belief, amounting almost to a conviction, that the days of Kashmir's independence were numbered. It was astonishing to find even educated Indian gentlemen confessing an inclination to treat with respect this more than usually ridiculous specimen of bazaar *gup*. It was of little use to argue that such a project would be entirely contrary to the general trend of British policy towards the native States, that it would involve issues of international politics which the Government of India had every motive for avoiding, and that any change in Kashmir was far more likely to occur in the direction of extending the powers of its Raj, and strengthening the position of its ruler. As we all know now, this is what has actually come to pass in Kashmir. But the prevalence of such a rumour, so recently as four or five years ago, shows how easily popular mis-

understanding may arise where there is a lack of intimacy between the governors and the governed. A study of the native press, more especially of that section of it which is in greater or less sympathy with the National Congress ideals, cannot but impress the reader with the feeling that, if the people knew us better, there would be far less of the tendency to ascribe ulterior and often sinister motives for the most reasonable acts of the Government. How often, in the recent controversy over the creation of a new province in Bengal, has the purpose of that measure been represented as something other than that which the Government professed! The accusation of designs upon the growing nationality of the Bengali people has been reiterated again and again, until even a public in closer touch with its Government might well have been led to believe that there was "something in it." Dinned into the ears of a people who do not know the minds or the characters of those who bear rule over them, such an accusation is virtually certain to be accepted as true.

One need not enlarge upon the political disadvantages of this aloofness between Indian and Anglo-Indian, and little would be gained by attempting to apportion blame for a state of things admitted on both sides to be highly undesirable. On the one side you have that lack of imaginative sympathy which is the common failing of the British, but in respect to which, it must be said, you will probably find more individual exceptions amongst Anglo-Indian officers than amongst any other governing class throughout the Empire. On the other, you have caste and purdah, the two great outward and visible signs of a mentality as far removed from that of the European as the Equator from the Poles. Blame may belong more to one side than the other, or it may be equally divided. But it is certain that the duty of seeking—I do not say providing—some means of mitigating this condition of estrangement lies primarily with the ruling race. The plea of *non possumus*, whether it arise from genuine despondency, or from mere impatience,

cannot be admitted. The final issue is not ours to determine. We may win or we may fail; it is our duty only to try.

But, it may be objected, you cannot call for sympathy by word of command; you can no more dictate a frame of mind than you can argue with it. That is true, but the assumption underlying that objection is that the British official has no desire to be anything more than a functionary in his relations with the people. Such an assumption would do him less than justice. The estrangement between rulers and ruled in India is a matter of temperament and circumstance, rather than will. The diagnosis of this condition is perfectly easy; to find a remedy seems hopelessly difficult. I have no intention of rushing in where others much wiser and more experienced have feared to tread. There are, however, one or two isolated suggestions that may perhaps be deemed worthy of a little consideration. They are not my own. One at least, or something like it, has been made in public before, and others have occurred in the course of private conversation with Indians and Anglo-Indians on the subject of this paper.

The first relates to the misunderstanding of the administrative or legislative acts of the Government, which has already been spoken of. There is in this direction a course open to the Government, which is already employed in at least one European country. I refer to the use of the manifesto. A proposal was made some time ago by Mr. S. S. Thorburn in favour of the establishment of a Government newspaper specially designed to justify the ways of the Sirkar to the ryot. The practical objections to such a scheme are many, while its advantages might equally well be secured by the issue of manifestoes for general distribution as occasion arises. In France the placarding of speeches of ministers on great public questions is a recognised system, for which provision is made out of the public purse. Despite the wide difference of conditions between France and India, a similar custom

would, I believe, serve a good purpose in a country—if that word be permitted—where the policy of the Government is peculiarly liable to be misinterpreted and misjudged. At such times, for example, as that of unrest caused by plague measures, the Sirkar might well cause to be distributed broadcast a simple statement of its motives and aims, showing in brief and homely language the folly of imagining that Government had any other desire than that of saving life, if only for the sake of preserving as many payers of revenue and taxes as possible. The recent "partition" agitation in Bengal would have afforded a good opportunity by the use of such a system of at once instructing and appealing to popular opinion against the charges and misrepresentations emanating from Calcutta. The area of influence of the vernacular press is admittedly very much wider than the literate classes of the country. Newspapers find their way by ones and twos into the villages, and their contents are retailed to the inhabitants by the few who are able to read them. I do not suggest that Government should supply the people with a critical commentary upon the journals that they read. Indeed, nothing could be more undesirable than to assume that the vernacular press is necessarily in opposition to the powers that be. But on occasions of important administrative changes and legislative enactments immediately affecting the interests of the masses, Government would do well to take steps to secure to popular opinion a fair chance of forming a correct judgment upon its intentions.

Much might be done through the medium of the written word, even in the case of a population so largely illiterate as that of India. More, perhaps, might be achieved through the spoken word. There is, so far as I am aware, no school of rhetoric for the young Indian civilian, and probably that is why the art of oratory is so little accounted of in Anglo-India. Yet one cannot help thinking that the gift of ready speech is at least of equal value in a ruler of men with the accomplishment of a good seat on horseback. One cannot

have attended any public ceremony in India without being struck with the poverty of eloquence on the part of the representatives of the Government. The hurried reading of a manuscript prepared in the Secretariat is neither convincing to the mind nor pleasing to the ear. It gives an impression of perfunctoriness which must be disappointing to a people naturally responsive to eloquence. One shrinks from suggesting any addition to the burden of the District Officer. At the same time it could be wished that an occasional public speech, in exposition of the desires and intention of the Sirkar, were a recognised part of the District Officer's duty. This might prove one means of establishing a closer touch between the people and those who represent to them the authority of the Government and the Crown.

There are other points of detail upon which much might be said. Do we always secure the co-operation in local affairs of men who are really respected in their own communities? To what extent is mere wealth regarded as a qualification for municipal honours, and how far are toadying and lip-service more successful in securing official confidence than fair criticism and reasonable independence? What, if any, are the principles governing the bearing of the District Officer to those who seek audience of him; and how are the grounds determined upon which the privilege of being seated in his presence is granted? These may seem to be small points, but they are not unimportant. Taken together they have a cumulative effect which tells strongly for or against the popularity of our rule, according as they are dealt with wisely or unwisely.

I wish now to pass to another point, not strictly arising out of the subject of this paper, and yet not irrelevant to it. I mean the general ignorance in England of India, of the conditions of life in India, both for natives and Europeans, and, in fact, of nearly everything connected with that part of the Empire. What connection it may have with the aloofness between rulers and ruled in India itself it is not my purpose to inquire; but I think it very unlikely that it



has no bearing at all upon the matter. All that I wish to say is that this ignorance on the part of the British public presents a condition which may ultimately prove to be an Imperial danger, and that it should be felt as a duty by all who have had or still have connections with India to do what they can to dissipate it. But it may be asked whether the existing efforts to promote in England an intelligent interest in India are either adequate or well directed. There are several organizations in London existing for the purpose of hearing papers and holding discussions on Indian subjects. None of them, however, appeals to the general public, and their influence hardly extends beyond circles which are already well informed on Indian matters. What is wanted is a body which shall make it its purpose to educate the British voter in Indian history and Indian affairs, just as the Navy League has educated him in regard to the Navy and the bearing of sea power upon our prosperity and security. To every reflecting mind it must seem deplorable that the ordinary newspaper reader in England gathers nearly all his information concerning India from partizan speeches, or questions in the House of Commons. Of course there are books in abundance, and frequent articles in the better-class journals, treating of India in many of its innumerable aspects. But these only reach those who want to learn. What is required is a missionary agency which will carry information to the indifferent. The need is felt by many Anglo-Indians in this country who love India and are proud of our work there. Surely there are amongst them powers of organization and zeal enough to compass the task of enlightening the ordinary British citizen upon the noblest part of that Empire to which he belongs.

## THE CONGO FREE STATE ADMINISTRATION.

ON the invitation of Germany, the different Powers interested in the affairs of West Africa, the Plenipotentiaries of the following Governments assembled in conference on November 15, 1884. There were present representatives on the part of Germany, Austria - Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, United States of America, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Sweden and Norway, and Turkey.

Prince Bismarck, in opening this high assembly, said that his Government, in inviting this conference or assembly, "was guided by the conviction that all the Governments invited share the wish to bring the natives of Africa within the pale of civilization by opening up the interior of that continent to commerce, by giving its inhabitants the means of instructing themselves, by encouraging missions and enterprises calculated to spread useful knowledge, and by preparing the way for the suppression of slavery, and especially of the over-sea traffic in blacks, the gradual abolition of which was proclaimed by the Congress of Vienna of 1815 as the sacred duty of all the Powers. The interest taken by all civilized nations in the material development of Africa insures their co-operation in the task of regulating commercial relations with that part of the world. The plan followed for a number of years in the dealings of the Western Powers with the countries of Eastern Asia has up to now given the best results by restraining commercial rivalries within the bounds of legitimate competition. The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Germany has therefore felt able to advise the Powers to apply to Africa, with modifications appropriate to that continent, the same plan, which is based on the equality of rights and uniformity of interest of all commercial nations. The Imperial Government sounded the Powers on the best mode of

realizing this idea. Having met with a perfect agreement of views on the part of the French Government, they were authorized by His Majesty the Emperor to invite the Powers who might be disposed to join in this agreement to meet in conference for the purpose of deliberating on the resolutions to be taken on the basis of the programme purposed in the letters of invitation. The fundamental idea of this programme is to facilitate the access of all commercial nations to the interior of Africa. With this object it would be desirable that merchandise intended for the interior should be admitted free of transit duties through all the African littoral." . . . "All the Powers exercising rights or influence in the territories which form the basis of the Congo and of its mouth should undertake the obligation to co-operate for the suppression of slavery within them, to encourage and assist the labours of missions and institutions intended to instruct the natives and to teach them to understand and appreciate the advantages of civilization." Prince Bismarck, after referring to various international political questions, said: "The interest taken by all the nations represented in this conference in the development of civilization in Africa—an interest unceasingly shown by bold feats of exploration, by commercial movements, and by the sacrifices and efforts made by each nation with one of these objects—affords a guarantee of the success of the labours which we are bound to undertake to regulate and develop the commercial relations of our countrymen with that continent, and to render a service alike to the cause of peace and humanity."

Sir E. Malet, as representing Great Britain, next read a declaration in which the following expressions occur:

"I must not, however, lose sight of the fact that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, commercial interest should not be looked upon as the exclusive subject of the deliberations of the congress." In referring to the freedom of commerce, he expressed the hope that such regulations should be adopted "as may tend to insure, as far as

possible, that its introduction will confer the advantages of civilization on the natives and extinguish such evils as the internal slave trade, by which their progress is at present retarded."

During the discussions at the Conference various questions arose with regard to free commerce to all nations, regulations with reference to the navigation of the Congo and Niger Rivers, and other political subjects; and on December 1, 1884, by protocol No. 4, it was agreed by the various Powers as follows:

"All the Powers exercising rights of sovereignty or influence in the said territories engaged themselves to watch over the preservation of the native populations and the improvement of the conditions of existence, both moral and material, and to assist in suppressing slavery, and more especially the slave trade in blacks; they will protect and assist, without distinction of nationality or of faith, all institutions and undertakings, religious, scientific or charitable, created and organized with those objects, or tending to instruct the natives, and to make them understand and appreciate the advantages of civilization. Missionaries, scientific men, explorers, their escorts, property, and collections will be equally the object of a special protection. Liberty of conscience and religious tolerance are expressly guaranteed to natives, as well as subjects and foreigners. The free and public exercise of all religious professions, the right of erecting churches, Protestant churches (temples and chapels), and of organizing religious missions belonging to all religious professions, shall not be subjected to any restriction or hindrance."

And in the annex to the above protocol (No. 4) it is again specified as follows: That the above article (VI.) "regulates various matters, all of which, however, appertain to the order of moral interests. In conformity with its text, as well as in conformity with the observations to which it has given rise in the Commission, three elements must be distinguished in it. The first relates to the pro-

tection as well as to the material and moral development of the native populations. With regard to these populations, which for the most part ought undoubtedly not to be considered as placed without the pale of international law, but which in the present state of affairs are scarcely of themselves able to defend their own interests, the Conference has been obliged to assume the rôle of an unofficial guardian. The necessity of insuring the preservation of the natives, the duty of assisting them to attain a more elevated political and social state, the obligation of instructing them and of initiating them in the advantages of civilization, are unanimously recognised. It is the very future of Africa which is here at stake; no difference of opinion was or could be manifested in the Commission on this point.

“Two scourges weigh down the present condition of the African races and paralyze their development—slavery and the slave trade. Everyone knows, and the evidence of Mr. Stanley has only confirmed, as regards this question, an obtained opinion, what deep root slavery has taken in the constitution of African bodies. Assuredly, this pernicious institution must disappear; it is an essential condition of any economic and political progress; but tact and gradual transitions will be indispensable. It is sufficient to note the end in view; the local Governments must search for the means and adapt them to the circumstances of the times and surroundings.

“The slave trade has another character: it is the very denial of every law, of all social order. Man-hunting constitutes a crime of high treason against humanity. It ought to be repressed whenever it can be reached, on land as well as by sea. On this point the Commission decided to prescribe a rigorous obligation. The events of which the Egyptian Sudan is at this moment the theatre, the scenes which Mr. Stanley has recently witnessed on the banks of the Upper Congo, the abominable expeditions which, according to Dr. Nachtigal, are frequently organized in

Central Sudan, and which already are penetrating into the basin of the Congo, demand an intervention which the local Powers will be held responsible to face as an urgent duty and as a sacred mission.

"But the sphere of action of these Powers will be limited for some time to come. It is for this reason that the Commission begs them to encourage and second generous and civilizing initiatives. Religion, philanthropy, science, will be able to send apostles, who will receive every protection and every guarantee. The declaration as it has been drawn up makes no exception, either in religions or in nationalities; it opens the field to all kinds of devotion, and covers them without distinction with its patronage."

At the meeting of February 23, 1885, a communication was presented on behalf of the International Association of the Congo that negotiations had been made with the various powers, that the flag of the Association had been recognised as that of a friendly State or Government, and it is assured that the accession of this Power pledges to introduce, in conformity with the principles of the Conference, civilization and trade within the area of the Congo International Association. And Sir Edward Malet, as representing the United Kingdom, expressed his satisfaction with the accession of "this new State, which is due to the initiative of His Majesty the King of the Belgians. Throughout a long course of years the King, ruled by a purely philanthropic idea, has spared neither personal efforts nor pecuniary sacrifices in anything which could contribute to the attainment of his object." Count van der Straten-Ponthoz, the Belgian Plenipotentiary, said: "The acts of the Conference gave practical effect to the bold and generous ideas conceived by His Majesty (King of the Belgians). The Belgian Government and nation will therefore gratefully adhere to the work elaborated by the High Assembly, thanks to which the existence of the new State is henceforth assured, whilst rules have been laid down by which the general interest of humanity will profit."

As this matter is of primary importance with regard to subsequent events arising from the administration of the Congo Free State, we shall give to our readers the exact terms of the declarations exchanged between the Government of Great Britain and the International Association of the Congo.

#### DECLARATION OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The International Association of the Congo, founded by His Majesty the King of the Belgians for the purpose of promoting the civilization and commerce of Africa, and for other humane and benevolent purposes, hereby declares as follows :

1. That by Treaties with the legitimate Sovereigns in the basins of the Congo and the Niadi-Kwilu, and in adjacent territories upon the Atlantic, there has been ceded to it territory for the use and benefit of Free States established, and being established, in the said basins and adjacent territories.

2. That by virtue of the said Treaties, the administration of the interests of the said Free States is vested in the Association.

3. That the Association has adopted as its standard, and that of the said Free States, a blue flag with a golden star in the centre.

4. That with a view of enabling commerce to penetrate into Equatorial Africa, the Association and the said Free States have resolved to levy no Customs duties upon goods or articles of merchandise imported directly into their territories or brought by the route which has been constructed around the cataracts of the Congo.

5. That the Association and the said Free States guarantee to foreigners established in their territories the free exercise of their religion, the rights of navigation, commerce, and industry, and the rights of buying, selling, letting, and hiring lands, buildings, mines, and forests, on the sole condition that they shall obey the laws.

6. That the Association and the said Free States will do all in their power to prevent the slave trade and to suppress slavery.

Done at Berlin December 16, 1884.

(On behalf of the Association),

(Signed) STRAUCH.

DECLARATION OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty declare their sympathy with and approval of the humane and benevolent purposes of the Association, and hereby recognise the flag of the Association, and of the Free States under its administration, as the flag of a friendly Government.

(On behalf of Her Majesty's Government),

EDWARD B. MALET.

At the last sitting of the Congress or High Assembly, on February 26, 1885, Prince Bismarck observed: "You have shown much careful solicitude for the moral and physical welfare of the native races, and we may cherish the hope that the principle adopted in a spirit of wise moderation will bear fruit, and will help to introduce these populations to the advantages of civilization. The special conditions under which the wide tracts which they have opened up to commercial undertakings have also required special guarantees for the preservation of peace and public order. The evils of war would, in fact, assume a specially fatal character if the natives were led to take sides in disputes between the civilized Powers. Justly mindful of the dangers which such contingencies might bring with them for the interest of commerce and civilization, you have sought for the means to withdraw a great part of the African Continent from the vicissitudes of general politics, and confine the rivalry of nations to the peaceful competition of trade and industry.

"The spirit of good understanding which has marked your consultations has in like manner guided the negotia-



tions which have been conducted outside the Conference in order to solve the difficult questions relative to the boundaries between the parties which should have sovereign rights in the Congo basin, and which, through their position, are called upon to become the principal guardians of the work we are about to bring to a close. I cannot refer to this point without paying a tribute to the noble efforts of the King of the Belgians, the founder of a work now recognised by almost all the Powers, a work which will confer most important benefits on mankind."

The substance of these observations was endorsed by Count d'Launay, the Italian Plenipotentiary.

Prince Bismarck, in closing this memorable Conference, also said: "I believe I express the views of the Conference when I acknowledge with satisfaction the step taken by the International Association of the Congo, and acknowledge their adherence to our decisions. The new Congo State is called upon to become one of the chief protectors of the work which we have in view, and trust it may have a prosperous development, and that the noble aspirations of its illustrious founder may be fulfilled."

From the above extracts it is clear that King Leopold and the Belgian nation came under the several obligations with the other Powers to advance civilization among the natives by instruction and otherwise, and to abolish slavery and the slave trade in every form. It remains to be seen how far the King of the Belgians and his Government have fulfilled their obligations, maintained the rights of the native tribes, and promoted their civilization.

The Congo Reform Association,\* in one of their excellent publications, sums up the present state of the affairs of the Congo Free State as follows:

To-day the native populations of the Congo are sub-

\* Formed in March, 1904, under the Presidency of Earl Beauchamp. Lord Monkswell has recently accepted the Presidency in succession to Lord Beauchamp.

jected to a system of oppression, cruelty, and torture unportrayable in words.

Under cover of certain formulas of European jurisprudence, millions of natives have been robbed of their land and the produce of their soil—their sole actual and potential wealth.

Their forests and their plains, their mountains and their rivers, have been claimed as his personal property by the Sovereign of the Congo State.

The Congo native has become a serf and outcast in his own country.

The wealth of the land, which is only procurable through native labour, has been divided between the Sovereign and his financial associates.

Native labour has become as much the property of the alien exploiters of the Congo as the land and its fruits.

Wholesale appropriation of the bodies of the people has followed the wholesale expropriation of the people's rights in the land and its fruits.

The worst excesses of the Middle Ages contain no records of robbery and pillage on a scale so gigantic as this !

The history of the world offers no parallel to this—the claim of one man to personal ownership over fifteen million human beings and 800,000 square miles of territory !

In the enforcement of this claim atrocities have been, and continue to be, perpetrated, which, in the words of Lord Fitzmaurice, “Curdle the blood and make Civilization ashamed of its name.”

An enormous army has been raised and quartered upon the unarmed population:

The natives are driven into the forests to collect india-rubber, of which they are required to bring in a stated quantity every fortnight in the year.

Failure to satisfy their taskmasters is visited by punishment, from death to mutilation, flogging, or imprisonment.

The practice of seizing women and children and retaining them as “hostages,” to bring pressure to bear upon their hus-

bands, fathers, and brothers, is habitual, a form of coercion authorized, encouraged, even ordered, by the Executive.

"I shall never forget," writes an Englishman with fourteen years' experience on the Congo, "the impression left on my mind by the sight of one of these horrible houses of detention. It was a small, low-roofed, circular building, with the only entrance to it through another building of the same type. This latter was occupied by a number of sentries with Albini rifles. Inside the other were herded a large number of women, girls, and boys—a mass of bones held together by black skin. I addressed myself to one poor skeleton of a woman lying in front of me where I stood. I asked her if she were sick. 'Two days ago,' she answered, 'I gave birth to a child, and oh, white man, I am dying of hunger! I've had nothing to eat.' She was so weak she could hardly articulate her words. And oh, the faces of those others! The horror of it! Outside the building there was a row of those skeleton women in chains, followed by a soldier with a rifle, going back and forward from the garden to the river."

This is but one sample of countless testimonies of the same kind, which, from 1896, have come down to us in an unbroken stream.

To maintain the army of soldiers and labourers engaged indirectly in the production of india-rubber, the natives of regions where the rubber vine does not grow are called upon to furnish quantities of food-stuffs, which in many cases they have to convey from long distances. These "taxes" are also imposed fortnightly, and shortage is visited by punishments similar to those imposed upon defaulting rubber producers. The burden is of so crushing a nature that the population is rapidly disappearing under the process, and evidence was placed before the recent Commission of inquiry which visited the Congo that, after paying their taxes, the natives were reduced to eating leaves for food.

Depopulation, impoverishment, misery, and wretchedness, appalling and indescribable, are decimating the Congo peoples.

As a French writer has recently said: "It is more than a great crime; it is an immense and frightful tragedy."

In consequence of these exposures, a Commission of Inquiry was appointed on behalf of the Sovereign of the Congo State. The British Minister, Sir C. Phipps, on November 7, 1905, forwarded to the Marquess of Lansdowne, the following Despatch:\*

I have the honour to inclose copies of the *Congo Bulletin Officiel* for September - October, which reached me this morning, containing the Report of the Congo Commission of Inquiry.

In spite of the reserved and dignified tone which pervades the whole Report, it contains the most scathing criticisms of the policy pursued in the Congo State. Proof is afforded that the Commissioners were fully alive to the responsibilities of the task which they assumed; whilst the fears which were expressed in some quarters that the Report would be optimistic, or that they would palliate or defend any of the unquestionable infractions of the law which occurred, are now proved, as I anticipated, to be entirely unjustified.

Adopting the divisions of their task enumerated by the Commissioners on p. 149 of the Report, the most striking conclusions appear to me to be the following:

I. *The Land System of the State and the Freedom of Commerce.* — Whilst not contesting the legality of the appropriation by the State of vacant lands, it is pointed out that in practice the State has monopolized the entire fruits of the soil, and has interfered with the whole evolution of native existence. It has failed to give a liberal and wide interpretation to the laws of 1885 and 1886, which conferred on the native population the free enjoyment of the

\* See "Correspondence respecting the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Administration of the Independent State of the Congo." House of Commons, June, 1906. Africa, No. 1.

zones of territory adjoining their huts under the authority of their chiefs, enabling them to trade in the produce of such zones. This law had become a dead letter.

The course thus pursued is, on p. 153, contrasted with the practice invariably followed in the neighbouring French colony. The system of exchangeable value adopted is strongly criticised, and the introduction of specie payments suggested.

II. *Imposition of Labour—the Abuses arising from Forced Labour.*—In this extended chapter the entire system pursued in these respects is subjected to severe condemnation, although it is argued forcibly that payment by means of labour is the only possible tax to which the native can be subjected. The irregularities pursued in the system of enforcing labour are brought into strong relief, as well as the undue latitude allowed to local officials, who could in practice apparently make use of any form of coercion they chose to adopt.

The defects in the law of November 18, 1903, by which forty hours of labour per month are imposed on the natives, are pointed out, and the different imposts due by the natives are reviewed. The existing system of coercion is examined, and, though the maximum of such coercion is nominally fixed at one month's imprisonment, the agent is in practice left to act much as he chooses.

The sentinel system, as well as that of the "capitas," is strongly condemned, and the accusations brought against the sentinels, though not in all cases proved, are regarded as well founded. The whole system is shown to result in constant warfare between the rubber-collecting natives and the sentinels, the A.B.I.R. Company proving that 142 of the latter had been killed or wounded within seven months, owing to the natives' retaliation against the cruelties which they had perpetrated. In short, the entire chapter proves the administration of the A.B.I.R. Company to be a system of hardly restricted savagery, and illustrates the fact that the apparently carefully devised regulations which the

directors in Europe believe to be carried into execution are entirely set at naught.

The Commission recommends a resort to the system of "impôt collectif" under the control of the native chiefs, but it is impossible to believe, after a perusal of the details given, that such a company can be permitted to exist any longer.

III. *Military Expeditions, and Those set on Foot by the Concession Companies—Mutilations.*—This chapter again severely condemns the entire system pursued by the companies, and proves the action adopted by these to be a distinct infraction of the law. The State police afforded by the Government is declared to be utilized by the companies to enforce their own pecuniary interests, and to involve the commission of the most terrible cruelties.

In regard to actual mutilations, the defenders of the Congo system are able to appeal to one paragraph of the Report in refutation of the accusations so generally brought against them.

The Commissioners declare that, with the exception of two cases in which mutilation was voluntarily inflicted on living natives, such has never been inflicted wilfully.

"Never has a white man inflicted, or caused to be inflicted, as punishment for shortage of rubber or of other prestations mutilations on living natives. No such acts have ever been averred by any witness, nor have we ever, in spite of all our investigations, discovered that such acts have been committed."

IV. *The Concession System.*—This is strongly condemned on pp. 226-236, and it is recommended that the system of free commerce should be put on its trial, the State abandoning its "incontestable" rights to the produce of the soil.

V. *Depopulation.*—The causes put forward by the missionaries are declared to be difficult to establish, and to be secondary ones, the primary causes being small-pox and sleeping sickness.

VI. *The System of State Instruction in Colonies.*—The

system of State instruction in colonies is examined, and cogent reasons given for condemning it. The system pursued by the Catholic and Protestant Missions is also declared faulty.

A dangerous and somewhat surprising suggestion is made at the conclusion of this chapter—viz., that native parents may be allowed, if desirous to do so, to dispense their children from religious instruction.

VII. *Military Organization, Recruitment, etc., and Contract Labour.*—The system is in general defended, and military education and service is regarded as an important element of civilization, such service not being distasteful to the negro, but exercising rather a humanizing effect. It is explained on pp. 253-254 that, unable any longer to engage West Coast natives, the State has to recruit from the more hardy, warlike tribes of the Upper Congo, who are mainly cannibals. Amongst such elements the firm discipline recommended by the Commission can alone prevent the reawakening of the but dormant instincts of savagery.

The whole system of labour contracts is carefully reviewed on pp. 254-264, the law of 1888 being declared to be a most praiseworthy one. In the Lower Congo its provisions are (contrary to the experience of our Consuls) declared to be executed. In the Upper Congo it is admitted that neither the letter of the law nor the intentions of the legislator are enforced.

The whole organization and conditions of contract labour are, it is clearly proved, faulty.

VIII. *Justice.*—From p. 265 to 279 the entire judicial organization is so ably and succinctly exposed that it is impossible to convey the explanation by any abridgement. Its inconvenience, both to suitors, criminal witnesses, and to public security, are detailed; and it is observed at the conclusion of the chapter that, whilst the law surrounds individual liberty with important guarantees, the action of administrative authority is left, so to speak, without restriction or control.

The concluding paragraphs of the Report, from p. 279 p. 285, explaining how entirely the conditions attending national life in the Congo State differ from those prevalent in other portions of Africa, should be read in their entirety ; and whilst they to some extent seek to palliate and account for existing abuses, proof is afforded how drastic and sweeping must be the changes which the newly-appointed Executive Commission must introduce.

This Commission of fourteen members is named by Royal Decree on the proposal of the three Secretaries-General "to study the conclusions of the Inquiry Commission Report, to formulate the proposals which they may necessitate, and to discover the practical means of realizing them."

The President, M. de Maldeghem, is second President of the Court of Cassation, and his nomination may be regarded as unexceptionable.

Amongst the Commission are M. Janssens, the President of the Inquiry Commission ; the three Secretaries-General ; two "Commissaires de District" in the Congo ; a Belgian Deputy, Colonel Fivé, of the Guides ; M. de Hemptinne, President of the Kassai Company ; M. Mols ; and M. Nys, the Publicist, member of the Hague Court of Arbitration.

The result is that a scheme of reform was issued on June 3, 1906, with a manifesto by the King, repudiating all international control in the administration of the Congo State.



## THE CONGO QUESTION: "A CASE OF HUMANITY."\*

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD.

Author of the "Lower Niger and its Tribes."

FOR some years past now, but especially during the last three, the world of politics has from time to time been occupied with the Congo Question—that is, as to the mal-administration of the Congo Free State, and the existence of certain grave evils in its administration that are directed principally, if not entirely, against the natives, charges which in Belgium have been brought forward in the House of Representatives by M. Vandervelde and the Belgian Labour Party, and in England by Mr. E. D. Morel and the Congo Reform Association. In spite of the strenuous exertions of these two parties, working, however, on separate lines, and altogether independent of each other, no especial attention has been paid to the matter; for the leading Powers of Europe have been too much engrossed with their own affairs. Indeed, it was not until just the other day, when King Leopold flung down the gauntlet of open defiance to the entire world, that the world—the English-speaking portion of it, as a whole, at all events—began to realize that there was such a place within its narrow confines as the Congo Free State, and that there was in existence such a question as the Congo Question. If the utterances of the press are of any truth or import, then the matter contained in the Belgian and English papers alone during the past few weeks is in itself sufficient justification of this existence—the existence, in a few words, of a State called the Congo, presided over by a Sovereign King, against which certain very grave charges have been

\* "A Review of the Congo Debate in the Belgian House of Representatives." Translated from the Official Shorthand Report and annotated by E. D. Morel (John Richardson and Son, Liverpool). Issued by the Congo Reform Association.

brought. But let us see for ourselves whether an indictment such as this is in any sense whatever justified by real facts and figures—*i.e.*, by experiences which are conclusively objective, and therefore beyond the region of question or doubt.

As a consequence of this it is very necessary to lay aside, for the time being at all events, this, the latest *dénouement*, the second act, so to speak, in this great human tragedy, with the primary object of getting a thorough grip of the whole question ; not, however, as seen through the monocle of English convictions, open as these undoubtedly are to bias or misconstruction, but as seen through Belgian spectacles, one glass of which, gilt-edged as it is, conveys the aspect of the Monarchical or King's Party, and the other, only silver-rimmed, that of the Socialists.

For only one object has animated the writer of this article, and that is to arrive at the truth. Just as the Muses appeared to Hesiod when he was feeding sheep on Mount Helicon, and inspired him with the desire to move among the realities and to find the true things of this existence, so the present writer, imbued by a fellow feeling for the helpless natives of the Congo, has taken up his pen in the hope that it may help to reveal the particular realities of which we are speaking. But, admitting that even an object may not be disinterested, may, in other words, have its underlying motive, the motive in this instance is simple : To obtain for these natives, in the name and cause of a common humanity, that equity, which is presumably denied to them in the law and justice that is being meted out to them by the officials of the Free State ! To help—if ever so infinitesimally—to obtain for them those mere rights and privileges which the Labour Party in Belgium, and the Congo Reform Association in England, have been so nobly striving for—striving as they have been against overwhelming and inflexible circumstances, the most adverse of which has been the absolute apathy of public opinion in both countries. In the face, therefore, of all which has

preceded, and of all that is still in existence—*i.e.*, of causes which, under the cloak of a civilized administration, have been steadily operating for a period of some twenty years—it is only possible to arrive at a result so equitable by making an investigation in the manner that has just been suggested ; for this obvious course must at once exonerate the writer from any preconceived opinions or prejudices. It is obvious, in fact, that the cause for which he has taken up the pen can best be served in this way—that it is, in a word, the only course left open. The best and quickest method, then, of attaining this object is, as already pointed out, by making a just and impartial summary of the debate on the Congo which was held in the Belgian House of Representatives during the period beginning February 26, and ending March 2 ; for by avoiding criticism, and therefore impartiality, every reader will in this way be in a position to arrive at his own estimate of the situation. But in order to further simplify matters the entire debate will be divided into two distinct positions, the first being the case for the prosecution—of those, in fact, who are pleading on behalf of the natives and of the good name of Belgium ; the second the case for the defence—*i.e.*, of the party behind which the King is sheltering himself.

#### THE CASE FOR THE CONGO NATIVES AND BELGIUM.

The initiative in this great debate was taken by M. Vandervelde, the leader of the Belgian Labour Party, who opened the proceedings by making a great and heroic speech. It is essential, therefore, in the commencement to get hold of the motives and principles which animated him in making, not so much an attack upon the Government, as an organized attempt to establish the exact position of the rulers and the ruled in the Congo Free State. With this desirable object in view, M. Vandervelde is careful at the outset of his speech to explain that the question he is bringing before the House is not a party question, but a question of humanity ; that it is distinct also from the

opinion held by both parties as to the advantages and disadvantages of colonial enterprises in general; that in making it his wish is to forget his Republican convictions, as his hope is that his political opponents will set aside their monarchical principles. The whole subject, in his opinion, resolves into this: whether the system adopted in the Congo does not involve nefarious consequences, as well for the natives, who are the victims, as for Belgium, its alleged gainer.

To grip the question thoroughly, however, some knowledge of its previous history is distinctly essential. For the present purpose this can be briefly summed up as follows: that M. Vandervelde had on at least five separate occasions brought it before the Belgian House. On the first occasion his party had been confronted by a *non possumus*. The Congo State was, so they were told, a foreign State, in so far as Belgium was concerned. Then they were confronted with the charge that their action covered Republican ideas, hostile to the work of the King. Thirdly, they were accused of being unpatriotic—informed, in fact, that they were assisting an English campaign against the Congo State. Finally, in the last resort, they were met by the general statement that the testimony invoked by them was exaggerated or untrue. "The Congo State," said M. de Favereau, Minister of Foreign Affairs, "can reply with assurance to the criticisms directed against it, for no other nation has done more than it has for the protection of the natives." These words had been uttered on July 2, 1903, and the same Minister, eighteen months afterwards, again said: "M. Vandervelde will not listen to the protests which have arisen in America, as in Europe, against these abominable calumnies. They have everywhere provoked denials from those who have lived in the Congo, who know what takes place there, and who in the name of truth and justice repudiate with indignation the attacks directed against the Administration of the Congo Free State."

It is clear, then, that the case as it stood on this, the

occasion of the last debate, was one in which the Monarchical Party considered the Congo State as above suspicion—as worthy, in fact, of the greatest esteem and admiration ; but that, on the other hand, it regarded the efforts of the Labour Party as altogether interested, if not a gratuitous insult or attempt to bring discredit and disgrace on the national escutcheon. Yet it is at least significant that at this very moment when M. de Favereau's words were uttered the steamer, on board of which were the returning Commissioners of Inquiry was due to arrive at Antwerp. It will be observed, however, that they had been spoken long before the results of this inquiry had been published to the world. Having made his own position and that of his party quite clear, M. Vandervelde maintains that the Congo, being a Belgian enterprise, it is perfectly natural that Belgium should take an interest in it. As for the people who flung his Republicanism in his teeth, he replied that those who protested against the Administration of the Congo State belonged to all parties—viz., Liberals, Loyalists, Catholics, and Royalists, the two latter including the missionaries and the name of Félicien Cattier.

In a speech which occupies thirty-five pages of closely-printed matter it is impossible to do more than give a mere digest of the principal heads under which it is divided, and the main features of which attract attention ; but it is, in the first place, particularly noticeable that the entire substance of the speech is based absolutely and entirely on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry. In speaking, however, of the results attained by it, M. Vandervelde lays stress on the fact that it had been sent out only under compulsion of the British Government ; that its mandate had been limited in such a way that the accomplishment of its mission was impossible, because it had to act conformably with the instructions of the Secretary of State, a limitation which necessitated the renewed intervention of the British Government, with the result that the Commissioners' mandate was enlarged. But this was not all, for, in

addition to these drawbacks, the Report issued by them justified in itself all the charges brought against the Congo Free State, with one reserve. It is not complete. It contains the conclusions of the Commissioners, and an impartial résumé of the testimony which was brought before them, but it does not include that testimony itself; it gives, in fact, the abstract truth, but not the concrete truth, upon the frightful abuses committed in the Congo.

Regarding the Report itself, M. Vandervelde divides it into two parts, the first containing praise for the work that has been done in the Congo during the past twenty-five years, while the other is a formidable indictment of the abuses by which the natives have been victimized. Dealing with the first section, he agrees in a large measure with the praise given. He admires, as do the Commissioners, the splendid energies and efforts that have resulted in various administrative measures and developments; but the real grandeur of the results obtained necessitates all the greater severity in considering the conditions under which the native population is placed. In his opinion the Congo system is exactly the antithesis of the system of ideal colonization, and he exaggerates in no way in saying that the Congo system is founded upon the confiscation of the land of the natives, upon forced labour, and a system of compulsion, which brings about the most frightful abuses. These are no new charges, for they have been pointed out on former occasions. Thus, with regard to the first of these three abuses, while the individual ownership of the natives has been respected, commercial ownership has been suppressed; and this, moreover, is admitted by the Commission, also the fact that it is impossible for them to trade in many places, because also the fruits of the land belong to the State.

But this is not all. Not satisfied with taking the land from the natives, the system of forced labour has been imposed upon them, cleverly disguised under the words "taxation in kind," which was described by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as involving only a light imposition, the

natives being asked to provide only forty hours' labour per month—an imposition that was approved of by the Commission, which, however, denounced the practice of it as outrageously violated.

Commenting on the four different kinds of forced labour which exist, he then described them as : (1) The tax in ground nuts ; (2) the tax in portorage ; (3) the tax in food-stuffs ; (4) the tax in rubber. Passing over the first, as the complaints with regard to it have ceased, the second of these is an organized portorage service in the directions of Lakes Kivu and Tanganyika, and of the Lado Enclave, for the conveyance practically of an enormous accumulation of war material, and at the expense, unfortunately, of thousands of native lives. On account of the tax in food-stuffs the natives are compelled to furnish various articles for the victualling of the stations. The Commission, although finding this comparatively light, add that in certain districts the system involves the most disastrous consequences to the natives ; so that to ration with manioc the 3,000 men of the Force Publique stationed at Leopoldville, villages, some of which are situated forty-five miles away, are requisitioned, with the result that the natives who are compelled to furnish the State with material representing one and a half francs in value are obliged every twelve days to travel a distance of ninety miles in order to fulfil their obligations.

It is, however, in the rubber tax that the greatest and heaviest burden lies, for rubber not only provides the revenue, but forms the entire basis of the commercial stability of the Congo State. This briefly is what the Commission of Inquiry has to say about it :

"In the majority of cases the native must go one or two days' march every fortnight until he arrives at that part of the forest where the rubber vines can be met with in a certain degree of abundance. There the collector passes a number of days in a miserable existence. He has to build himself an improvised shelter, which cannot, obviously,

replace his hut ; he has not the food to which he is accustomed ; he is deprived of his wife, exposed to the inclemencies of the weather and the attacks of wild beasts. When once he has collected the rubber he must bring it to the State station, or to that of the Company, and only then can he return to his village, where he can sojourn for barely more than two or three days, because the next demand is upon him. The result of this, therefore, is, that whatever may be his activity in the rubber forests, the native, on account of the numerous displacements which he is compelled to undergo, sees the majority of his time absorbed in the collection of india-rubber. It is hardly necessary to add that this state of affairs is a flagrant violation of the forty hours law."

Having by this statement justified and corroborated his denunciation of so brutal a measure, M. Vandervelde verified his own description of the black soldiers of the Force Publique by again quoting from the Report :

"According to the witnesses, these auxiliaries, especially those who are stationed in the villages, abuse the authority placed in them, making themselves into despots, claiming the women and food, not only for themselves, but for the band of parasites and scallywags which the love of rapine associates with them, and with whom they surround themselves as by a veritable bodyguard. They kill without pity all those who attempt to resist their exigencies and whims."

Anticipating that the answer of his opponent will be to repudiate the responsibility of the Congo State for these abuses, M. Vandervelde insists that it is responsible : (1) Because it has tolerated these things ; (2) because it has encouraged them : (3) because it profits by them. This is admitted by the Commissioners. Indeed, the Report states that the conclusions arrived at were due less to the testimony of natives, or even of missionary evidence, as by the judgments and circulars and the officials' reports, which they demanded should be shown them. "*So that all which has been done has been to admit officially*



*a state of affairs which everyone knew beforehand.*" But when he is told that the authors of the Congo atrocities had been prosecuted before the courts, he once more out of the mouth of the Commissioners themselves emphatically contradicts the statement as absolutely erroneous: "Abuses committed in the course of the exercise of coercion were *very seldom* referred to the Judiciary. . . . The Commission has found that very often prosecutions begun by the Assistant Public Prosecutors against white men accused of having ill-treated natives have not been followed up owing to administrative decision."

Yet, in face of this unquestionable evidence, the Secretaries of the Congo State had on two separate occasions in 1900 reported to the Sovereign King that "the judicial statistics testify to the vigilance with which the Judiciary investigates abuses, and endeavours to prevent any crime from being punished." . . . "The Government does not even hesitate to say that in the repression of acts of ill-treatment an excess of severity responds more with its views than does an excess of indulgence."

The most unfortunate aspect of it all, from a Belgian standpoint, are the facts that the beneficiaries of this system are, in the first place, the State itself; in the second, the Concessionnaire Companies of the State, in which the State holds half the shares; and finally the *Domaine de la Couronne*—*i.e.*, to say the King personally. Quoting from M. Cattier's book, the latter briefly is a territory ten times the size of Belgium, so rich in rubber that, since its formation in 1896—*i.e.*, in ten years—it has contributed something like 70,000,000 francs of clear profit to its founder, half of which, as far as is known, has been expended in the purchase of real estate in Belgium and the Riviera. Similarly, to show the abnormal market value of the rubber shares, M. Vandervelde gives the following figures of the *Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo* and the *A.B.I.R.*, the two Concessionnaire Societies that are the most typical, and which bear the most sinister

reputation. The first of these has, it appears, from 1898 to 1903 paid an average annual dividend of 425 francs on every 500 franc share. The other was created in 1892, with a capital of 1,000,000 francs, of which only 232,000 were paid up.

"In 1898 each share brought in 1,100 francs in dividends, and was worth 14,600 francs. In 1899 each share brought in 1,225 francs in dividends, and was worth 17,950 francs. In 1900 each share brought in 2,100 francs, and was worth 25,250 francs. In 1901 each share brought in 900 francs, and was worth 14,550 francs. In 1902 each share brought in 850 francs, and was worth 13,400 francs. In 1903 each share brought in 1,200 francs, and was worth 15,800 francs." The proceedings employed in order to secure such colossal profits is to some extent explained by the following extract from the Report of the Commissioners :

"It was hardly denied that in the various posts of the A.B.I.R. which were visited the imprisonment of women hostages, the subjugation of the chiefs to servile labour, the humiliations forced upon them, the *chicotte* given to defaulters, and the brutalities of the soldiers employed in getting the prisoners, was the rule habitually followed."

To prove that the Congo State has not only tolerated but encouraged these abuses, M. Vandervelde proceeds to show that General Wahis had instructed his subordinates to take hostages ; that the State gave bonuses to its agents on rubber and ivory on a scale which assured the larger bonus to the official whose ivory and rubber had cost the State the least to acquire. But graver even than this is the fact that the State, which had suppressed the slave trade in its territory has not hesitated to re-establish it in order to obtain soldiers for the Force Publique.

Even admitting, however, that King Leopold's idea is not personal enrichment, allowing that his purpose is to enrich his own country, the facts connected with the acquirement of this wealth, and the effect it has had on Belgian public life, have been truly deplorable. This, un-

fortunately, was to be seen most of all in the subsidy of the greater part of the public press. To thoroughly understand, however, the entire Congo Question, it was essential that we should see quite clearly—as far, at least, as it is possible—into the finances of the Congo State, because, owing to the negligence of the Belgian Government, the public was very insufficiently informed. Again relying on M. Cattier for his figures, M. Vandervelde finds that, whereas in 1898 the total amount of its indebtedness was 2,283,000 francs, in 1905 it had increased to 80,631,000 francs. M. Cattier had arrived at these estimates by carefully-worked-out calculations, based on the amount of interest that the State paid annually on loans. "But to this figure of 80,000,000 francs must be added the 31,000,000 lent by Belgium, and the net product of the loan on the lottery system—net product which M. Cattier estimates at 50,000,000, which makes, independently of the sum lent by Belgium, an approximate total of 130,000,000, which represents the debt of the Congo State to-day, a debt which, in the case of annexation, will have to be taken over by Belgium." Admitting, however, for the sake of argument, that so long as the present system lasts all will go well, it is obvious that when the economic products fail—as fail they must under the present ruinous system—an era of grievous deficit must at once ensue. In other words, the situation is all the graver, since this temporary prosperity depends exclusively upon the system of oppression imposed upon the natives. But this system is doomed to disappear. And there are three directions from which reform may come. These are: (1) From the Congo State itself; (2) from the intervention of the Powers; (3) finally, from Belgian initiative.

With regard to the first, however, M. Vandervelde is *profoundly convinced that the Congo State is powerless to reform itself*. The example of Russia proves that Absolutism cannot reform itself. It is reformed, or it is ended. "He is all the more justified in thinking that this is so

when even the Commissioners of Inquiry, to whose impartiality and good faith he has referred, merely propose insignificant measures, mere palliatives. They uphold the system of forced labour, and they adopt the thesis defended a few days ago only by M. Rolin, in the *Review of the University of Brussels*, that coercion is indispensable in tropical regions, that forced labour is necessary, that slavery is legitimate." But in his opinion the most significant of all these objections is the composition of the Commission of Reforms, seven out of the fourteen of whom are Congo State officials—that is to say, of the accused party—two directors of commercial companies, and one an agent of the King, the remaining four being independent members; while the absence from its ranks of men such as Dhanis, Wangermee, Lemaire, and Cambier, who have done good work on the Congo, merely accentuates this significance all the more. "Moreover, there is a fact more eloquent and more conclusive than all the others, which shows that there is no intention of doing anything, and that nothing has been done, and that is that during the year which has elapsed since the return of the Commission to Belgium nothing has been attempted to improve the conditions which prevail on the Congo."

To show how essential these reforms were. "To-day Catholic and Protestant missionaries are agreed in declaring that the events which have taken place in the Congo call for vengeance from Heaven." With regard to the two other directions from which reform might be expected, M. Vandervelde was most explicit and to the point. Belgium should take the initiative, and not wait for Foreign Powers to do so. This, in fact, was absolutely essential, for she had a more direct interest in the question; a moral interest, because her good name was at stake; a financial interest, because of the ultimate and disastrous consequences which annexation might one day bring about; a political interest, because he was convinced that many events which have taken place would never have occurred

if Congolese absolutism had not reacted upon Belgian constitutionalism. To say in answer to this that Belgium was powerless, and had no means of action on the Congo State, was altogether wrong; for Belgium is a signatory party to the Act of Berlin, and it is incontestable that the proceedings of the Congo State are contrary to Article 6, referring to the protection of the natives. The authorization necessary for the King to be at the same time Sovereign of the Congo State had been voted by the Belgian Chambers, and being an authorization given by Parliament, it was open to revocation or subordination to specific conditions of reform. Finally, Belgium lends to the Congo State her officers, her diplomatists, her officials, so that she might at least subordinate a continuation of this to the accomplishment of the reforms which are essential. It is not the power to act, but the will to act, which the Government lacks, and it was not possible to expect much from it, because the characteristic of its policy during the last few years has been complete acquiescence in everything which the Sovereign of the Congo State has done.

Touching once more upon certain possible contingencies, M. Vandervelde requests the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the financial consequences which might accrue to Belgium from the ultimate annexation of the Congo. But M. Vandervelde must be allowed to conclude a great and magnificent effort in his own vigorous yet conciliatory words:

"But there is one thing here which I must say, and I now speak in my personal name, without involving the party to which I have the honour to belong—viz., that of all the solutions which might be proposed, whether it be the abandonment of the Congo, or its annexation by Belgium, there is not one, whatever disadvantages it may have, which I do not consider as being absolutely preferable to the maintenance of the actual system existing in the Congo, which must result in the partial extermination of the natives. It is in this spirit—and you will see that it is a

spirit of conciliation—that I have wished to close my interpellation. I venture to hope that, in replying to me, side issues will not be invoked, and that I shall be no longer told that in denouncing abuses I am lacking in patriotism. I assert, on the contrary, that when abuses take place, true patriotism lies, not in dissimulating them, but in protesting against them, and I hope that the whole House will agree with this. This is the sixth time that we are interpellating on this question; but it comes before us to-day under new conditions. When we spoke in the past you might not have believed us, you might have suspected our intentions, you had the right to ignore what was not revealed in official document; but to-day you know, you ought to know, you can no longer ignore, you can no longer remain deaf to the complaints and the protests which arise from all sides. And I address myself to you members of the Clerical Party, I ask you to forget the links which bind you to the Government, and to cling, above all, to that which your conscience dictates to you. In the presence of facts denounced by all ministers of Christianity, Protestant and Catholic, you have no right to remain impassive, and to wash your hands of the blood which has been shed; because, if you were to do so, if you were to refuse justice to the natives, if you were to withhold from them the bread of life which they ask, the words of one of the Fathers of your Church might be applied to you: 'Thy brother asked for help and protection, thou remainest deaf to his appeal, thou hast not gone to his assistance, therefore thou hast killed him.'

With regard to the other speeches which were made on the side of the prosecution it is not possible to give more than the merest pith. M. Verhaegen, of the Catholic Party, whose entire speech is on behalf of the Catholic missionaries, associates himself with the protest which M. Vandervelde has brought against the acts and the abuses of the Congo State—*acts and proceedings which in his opinion have shaken public opinion in Belgium to its depths.*

M. Bertrand, one of the Labour Party, contends that the Congo State can obviously be regarded from a dual point of view—the moral and the financial. M. Vandervelde had spoken from the former ; it was his intention to speak from the latter. The Congo State was seriously indebted. The large amounts which had been borrowed have not been spent on the Congo, but in Belgium, in building sumptuous and palatial works and buying real estate. This is precisely the opinion as confirmed by M. Cattier. To escape all control, that is the desire of the Financial Department. The details which are furnished help to dissimulate truth, rather than make it appear. The Congo State, although it has published an annual Budget for the last thirteen years, has never published a single official account. Its Budgets, however, contain nothing but mere estimates. Its financial history falls into three periods. The first is the period which M. Cattier calls the period of prudence, from 1885-1890 ; the second is the period of tutelage, as a consequence of the convention drafted by the House in 1890 ; the third is the period of wastefulness. During the first period the idea was not to create an onerous position for Belgium, in case of annexation. Thus the loan of 1888 was organized on the lottery system—*i.e.*, in such a way as not to cost the Treasury of the Congo State anything, for the guaranteed fund is sufficient to insure interest on the sinking fund. The second period opened with the Convention of 1890. The Congo State then undertook to furnish Belgium with all necessary information, and not to contract any loan without the consent of the Belgian Government. This Convention held good until 1891 ; but no sooner was it signed, scarcely had the pledges been undertaken, than the Congo State violated them by secretly borrowing from M. de Browne de Tiege. This infringement was not made known until 1896, when the Congo State came to Belgium and obtained a credit of 5,000,000 francs to repay M. de Tiege, and another 1,500,000 francs to make good certain deficits. Once more,

then, it was that Belgium paid. In the third period a loan of 50,000,000 francs at 4 per cent. was contracted, but not until the Congo State found itself freed from the control of Belgium.

So, proceeding step by step, M. Bertrand—also by the help of M. Cattier—decides that the total debt amounts to a sum equal, perhaps, to 111,000,000 francs, which—although Belgium may any day have to take over the Congo—it is at present in absolute ignorance of. Two facts are quite certain: The money expended in contracting these debts has not been utilized either to develop the colony or to improve the lot of the natives; further, the effect which this system of finance has produced on Belgium has been detrimental, if not disastrous. He then vigorously endorses M. Vandervelde's conclusions, and ends an even and well-balanced speech with these trenchant words: "That which is at issue in this debate is not a political question, not a vain party question; it is, in truth, a question of justice and humanity."

There is not much to be noted in M. Colf's speech, for, like M. Verhaegen's, it is entirely on behalf of the Belgian missionaries; but it is evident throughout that, apart from this, M. Colf is animated by broad and humane feelings. So he remarks: "I will not say to the State, 'Courage! courage!'—I will say to the State, on the contrary, 'For pity's sake stop! become converted, become what you always ought to have been—an agent of humanity and civilization.'" Then, too, he deplores, first, that missionaries whose sole object is civilization were excluded; next, that Belgium should be mixed up with the atrocities committed in the Congo, and points out that the Commission of Inquiry has failed on three different points to carry out its mandate.

"It declined to investigate what was taking place in the *Domaine de la Couronne*; it accused unjustly, and accepted as true, without counter-inquiry, without even hearing the interested parties, charges against their gallant missionaries;



finally, it omitted a point of capital importance — it has not made the slightest allusion to the most redoubtable obstacle which civilization encounters on the Congo—viz., the immorality which flaunts itself publicly and unrestricted, which often filters through from the corrupting European to the corrupted black, drying up in both the resources of physical and moral life, affecting the interests of the native peoples."

M. Lorand, of the Liberal Party, prior to plunging into the core of the matter, lays great stress on the point that Belgian politicians have nothing to gain by incurring the hostility of the Congo State; but those who were loyal and patriotic would be guilty of wilful neglect if they did not expose and endeavour to remedy any evils which they knew to be in existence. As for himself, he repudiated the statement of personal hostility to the King. He had never in his life shrunk from fighting for the cause which he believed to be right, and in this matter of the Congo he was but obeying the voice of his conscience. An examination of the Report issued by the Commission showed that the abuses in the Congo had not been suppressed; on the contrary, that they still continued, necessary and frequent, because they are the result of the system of government adopted by the Congo State. They were not individual abuses, but collective, the result simply of the system. It was known also, "from the Report of the Commission of Inquiry, that the whole system of impositions established by the Congo State has been declared illegal by the Boma Court, and that for years without end these odious claims and imposts, which have led to so many crimes, have been applied without law, without limitation, in an absolutely arbitrary manner, and that it was only after the Court had drawn attention to the fact, in passing judgment, that the law of forty hours was drawn up, a law which, as the Commission admits, is, moreover, not applied. All this is henceforth incontestable, it is all contained in the Report. The impartiality of the Commissioners had been praised—every-

body is agreed on that. When Congo affairs are being discussed it is necessary in every case to give much homage, to begin by rendering homage. Well, it is with sincerity and outside all conventionality that he renders homage to the impartiality and to the conscientiousness of the Commission, and also to the extreme prudence which has characterized their conclusions, to the extreme diplomacy of their language. Indeed, it would have been difficult to wrap so many grave facts, so many crying abuses, in more lenient terms. If, notwithstanding all this, the facts pierce through the eulogium of style, if the abuses appear on every page, despite these flowers of rhetoric, it is certainly not because the editors of the story have not taken the trouble to present them in the happiest way possible for the Congo State. We must take account of this when we read the Report, and it is, perhaps, this very fact which increases its gravity. When, notwithstanding all the platonic precautions taken by the editors of the Report, notwithstanding the care which they have always exercised to put things in the least disagreeable way possible for the Congo State, one goes to the rock bottom of things, one is compelled to recognise that the admissions which have been made are of extraordinary gravity, and one cannot say otherwise than *that the Report of the Commission of Inquiry is an overwhelming indictment for the Congo State.*"

On the essential point of freedom of trade the Commission had found that there was no freedom. This is a grave fact, because it is a negation of the *raison d'être* of the Congo State. This was to insure, first of all, complete freedom of trade; secondly, the preservation of the natives and the betterment of their lot. It was on these grounds that the State had been created with the common consent of all the European Powers. In spite of this, no one can trade in the Congo except the State or the State's concessionnaires. Even in the French Congo, where the system adopted is virtually the same, a tenth of the land appropriated has been reserved for the natives. This

was not the case in the Congo, for there all the land had been appropriated, with the exception of the huts inhabited by the people and the gardens enclosing them. In this way the Act of Berlin has been violated, because it formally forbids monopolies or privileges of any kind within the conventional basis of the Congo. Yet in practice everything there is monopolized by the State and its partners, even to the exclusion of the missionaries, who are unable to get leases of land, so complete is the appropriation of it ; *while the natives, to whom the land in reality belongs, are entitled to nothing !*

In a few words, what was this but a sorrowful caricature of the law, whose formulas have been placed at the service of the most brutal robbery ; a ridiculous abuse of the similitude of words to characterize totally different things, and the application of principles in circumstances for which they were not created ? Even the Commission of Inquiry, notwithstanding its goodwill, was compelled to recognise the exactions committed by the black sentries to the detriment of the natives ; for it found the reprisals of the latter so natural, that it considered the statistics of the murders of the sentries as the barometer of the atrocity of the régime to which the natives are subjected. It was on the strength of so atrocious a sentence as this, "that the natives were entitled to nothing," *that a man had been found to make of that sentence a system.* According to this, then, the natives have no rights. But the native has the right of a man, he has the right to live, the right of personal security, the right of personal property, the right to the produce of his labour, the right of coming and going. Yet in the majority of cases even that right is denied to him. Such a system is bound to produce the most frightful abuses. So in the Budgets there is nothing for the improvement of the people. Civilization has given them nothing in exchange for the crimes, the misery, and the wretchedness of the rubber-tax. That forced labour had produced the most appalling results was admitted by the

Commission. *It was the abuse of it which was the source of all the evil.* A corvée such as this was a disgrace to Belgium, for the natives are taxed indefinitely, and even the elementary rights of humanity have been denied to them. Yet the Congo State had been created with a humanitarian and civilization object.

The worst of it all was that these abuses had resulted in the most frightful depopulation, even in the Lower and Middle Congo, where the State has been able to exercise in the completest manner its civilizing action, due to many causes, to privations, diseases, etc., but, above all, to the savagery of the sentries and to punitive expeditions. *For it is not alone the penalty of death which is exacted, it is more than this: it is pillage, massacre, and incendiarism carried into the four corners of the territory.* Indeed, the Commission makes no bones about it, but emphasizes the fact that it falls as much on the innocent as on the guilty. Yet there are Courts of Justice on the Congo; but the organization of justice is simply deplorable, merely because it is too often interfered with by the administrative authority. The Commission admits this, also the fact that the verdicts of the Boma tribunals show that those who are prosecuted for violence towards the natives constantly give as an excuse, or as extenuating circumstances, the orders which they received from their superiors. This in itself constitutes a sufficient justification on the part of the Belgian Government to take action, *and these verdicts alone exclude all idea of good faith and every plea of ignorance on the part of the Congo Government.*

The instructions to officials are of two kinds: No. 1 is drawn up for European consumption, full of beautiful humanitarian phrases and suggestions of kindness and gentleness. But order No. 2 is not meant for publication. It tells the officials plainly what notice they need take in practice of the humanitarian instructions drafted to deceive European opinion.

To-day, however, the cup is full—it is, in fact, overflow-

ing. "You," addressing himself to the members of the Government, "refused to hear the indignant protests of the public in other civilized countries and of independent individuals in Belgium ; now you can no longer escape the movement of reprobation which is becoming universal. You can certainly no longer escape from it by saying that the charges brought against the Congo State are British calumnies, seeing that all the charges levelled at the Congo State have been admitted by the Commission of Inquiry as being the result of the Congo State's own system of outrageous exploitation of the people, enslaved to produce rubber, sought and massacred when they did not produce it. What sanction are you going to give to these overwhelming disclosures ? I understand and I respect the feelings of those who recoil before the idea of denouncing to foreign Powers, signatories to the Act of Berlin, actions which constitute a flagrant violation of that Act, and which may provoke a new International Conference ; but what I do not understand is that the Belgian Government, which is in daily touch with the Congo State, should not say to it, 'Enough ! You have pursued up to the present a system of whose consequences you have probably been ignorant, but which has led to a mass of abuses which you had not foreseen. To-day these abuses are admitted, they are the result of the system adopted by you to draw the largest possible profits from the Colony ; they are of a kind which call for vengeance, and which cannot be tolerated. They must disappear immediately and radically, and Belgium will not remain a single day responsible with you for a state of affairs recognised by the Commission of Inquiry. You shall have no more officers, no more magistrates, no more officials of the Belgian State, if you do not immediately make up your mind to alter radically an admitted situation. If the Government is prepared to tell us that it will do this, I shall be the first to congratulate it for having accomplished, although very late in the day, its duty ; but if this is not what you are going to tell us, you will be

gravely lacking in your duties towards Belgium in tolerating the continuance of the abusive system which we have demonstrated. You will have affected in the gravest way the honour as well as the interests of Belgium.'"

#### THE CASE FOR THE CONGO STATE.

To this vigorous and outspoken onslaught the defence or explanation which is offered by the members of the Government is extremely weak. This, in plain words, is putting the very mildest construction on it that is possible. Reading twice through the entire debate as the writer has done, with a mind absolutely free from bias, and with the utmost care, making copious notes and extracts from it, besides marginally annotating all the salient points which stand out in the sea of matter like great high promontories that have to be rounded, there is no disguising the fact that the explanations given, or, rather, the tactics adopted, fall absolutely to the ground. It is obvious, in fact, that they are not explanations, but mere sophistical arguments. Obvious, too, that these Ministers of the King have no explanations to offer and no defence to make. The ugly truth stands revealed, and there is no concealing or suppressing it, and it is evident that the speeches of these men—toadies rather—are but clumsy efforts in that direction. So that, no matter whom the speaker, whether it be M. de Favereau, the Minister for Foreign Affairs; M. de Smet de Naeyer, the Premier; M. Woeste, the King's Special Pleader and Advocate; or M. Carton de Wiart, the question at issue, namely, the abuses on the Congo, is avoided and evaded. From beginning to end, in fact, both in principle and practice, their policy is one of evasion and of begging the question.

Thus in a few brief words the whole burden of M. de Favereau's speech is that the interpellation is inopportune. At the same time he admits in a half-hearted way that the Congo Administration has given rise to grave and regrettable abuses; maintains that the value of Article 6 of

the Berlin Act is exaggerated, and drawn up on the vaguest terms; asserts that, as the Belgian and Congo Governments are distinct, the former can neither interfere with nor be held responsible for acts in which it has not participated; declines, therefore, to discuss M. Vandervelde's analysis of the Report of the Commission; defends the *Domaine de la Couronne* on the assumption that Cattier's calculations are exaggerated and erroneous. M. de Smet de Naeyer almost loses himself in a flood of oratory over the beauty and the grandeur of the Congo enterprise. "One can really never," he exclaims, "have read the history of nations, if one fails to recognise, as has been done, the grandeur of the work accomplished in the Congo. This, indeed, can only be due to ignorance of international history." From this, too, he argues it is evident that an identical régime is practised in all other European colonies, and he proceeds to draw a comparison between some of the laws of the Congo and Southern Nigeria. Further, he seeks to justify the action of the Congo State by contrasting and emphasizing the pre-existing barbaric condition of affairs.

M. Carton de Wiart's speech is mainly an attack on the Socialist Party and its policy. M. Woeste alone of all the Monarchists has to some extent the courage of his convictions, and speaks out his mind in a less guarded and more impulsive manner. "With natives," he says, "coercion is often necessary. Authority must be felt in order to be respected. Despotism alone brings order out of chaos." Then he accuses the Republican Party of being animated by personal hostility to the King; harps—as, indeed, they one and all do—on the magnificent results achieved by the Congo State; repudiates indignantly the charge of atrocities; asserts that the existence of abuses has never been denied, but states openly that abuses are almost impossible to avoid; that the protection of every native in so vast a region is also impossible. "Regarding the land, the paramount factor," in his opinion, is that, by the showing of the Commission, the greater part of the land is not cultivated.

For this reason, also because the natives are unable to produce titles to these lands, they belong to the State in strict conformity to general principles.

It is, however, useless to make any further quotations from these speeches ; for, although at the beginning it was the writer's intention to state one side of the case as fully as the other, he has found it unnecessary to do so. True, there are always two sides to every question—even the murderer is given a hearing—but in this specific instance the other side has not even attempted to make out a case, so that it would be sheer waste of time to exploit statements which are altogether irrelevant and inconsequent to the main issue, for out of their own mouths do these Monarchists stand condemned. They do not refute the charges which have been preferred against the Congo State, because, seemingly, they cannot, knowing, as they appear to do, the futility of their own cause. Feeling they have only a crutch or a prop to stand on, which may at any moment be swept from under them, they run to shelter like burrowing foxes, and take refuge under pretexts, or behind evasions and subterfuges, devices which are as transparent as they are shallow, which are, in fact, a disgrace to the civilization and humanity that they make so feeble a profession of. Indeed, splendid as is the appeal that has been made by the Labour Party—by MM. Vandervelde and Lorand more particularly—it is not even so much, certainly not altogether in the magnificent sincerity of their vigorous protest, every word of which rings true, that the hideous reality of the situation rivets our attention. Rather it is in the absolute absence of true explanation from the King's Party, in the striking contrast between the two parties, the one standing for the liberty and equity of humanity, the other for an autocracy, which can best be described as the vested concentration of all power and authority in the egotism and tyranny of one person, which enables us to realize the awful truth that M. Vandervelde and his party have so manfully exposed.



In his own words, the position of the Belgian Government is untenable—indeed, the whole matter is unthinkable. That in a moral sense this is unquestionably so no un-biassed person can deny. Yet the Congo State is still pursuing the uneven tenour of its unequal administration, in spite of the two Commissions, whose business has been to inquire and to reform. Yet one man holds the power of life and death over some 20,000,000 of people, whose souls as well as bodies are at his mercy.

Surely a colossal situation, an awful temptation, to place in the hands of a just man, much more so than in those of one who is fired with ambition or the lust for gold. It is an old maxim, that Truth is great and will prevail; but in this particular instance, although Truth has been active in the shape of these Belgian deputies and the Congo Reform Association, Truth has not yet prevailed. For Europe, the centre and stronghold of civilization, has grown indifferent; age and luxury have nourished the fungus of apathy among its people, and apathy has made them callous. Civilization appears now to be no more compatible with humanitarianism; an excess of dogmatism, added to the limitations of sectarianism, have choked those sympathies which spring from the germ of a common origin. All that is highest in them, the humanity which can soar above life's sordid inhumanities, until it reaches almost to the Divine, has been clogged by the lower and more material instincts of self-interests, those interests which, as Ruskin says, warp a man's mind. Even England, once the champion of liberty, has fallen from her high estate into the coma and silence of a mental sleeping sickness. Indeed, although she has an Imperial Empire at her back, she is no longer disinterested, and the once glorious term Liberal is now merely the label on a glue-pot that sticks fast. Sympathy, that truer sign of breeding than mere kindness, has atrophied. So Jews are massacred in Russia by the hundreds and thousands, and the natives of the

Congo are not only slain, but mutilated mercilessly and without restraint ; and Europe looks on and does nothing.

Yet it is the great Powers of Europe which are responsible for a condition so truly deplorable, and of all those Powers, England, which took the initiative in the matter, is most of all responsible, if not culpable. If, then, the humanity which was once her proud boast is not dead, if she will only, as her own immortal bard said of her, remain true to herself, this grave responsibility which is on her shoulders will prick her to the quick, and arouse all her moral and spiritual energies to action. But for Heaven's sake let it be a whole-hearted and unstinted action, for this alone will save those millions in distress, whose voices are uplifted in silent agony ; this alone will show the world that the now slumbering humanity of England is still capable of rising to the sublime heights of equity and disinterestedness.

## MOROCCO—THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT ALGECIRAS.

WITH the view of maintaining order, peace, and prosperity in Morocco, the various Powers agreed to an International Conference to be held at Algeciras, to consider the best means to promote this object. It was considered that reforms should be based upon the threefold principle of the sovereignty and independence of the Sultan, the integrity of his dominions, and economic liberty without any inequality. This Conference accordingly met, and on April 7, 1906, a General Act was adopted, and subsequently endorsed by the Sultan on June 18, 1906. The Conference consisted of delegates or representatives of the following Powers: The German Emperor, the Emperor of Austria, the King of the Belgians, King of Spain, the President of the United States of America, the President of the French Republic, the King of England, the King of Italy, the Sultan of Morocco, the King of Portugal, the Queen of Holland, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Sweden.

The topics considered related to the police, the illicit trade in arms, a Moorish State bank, taxes, new sources of revenue, Customs, and suppression of fraud and smuggling, and public services and public works.

The General Act consists of seven chapters subdivided into 123 articles.

With regard to the organization of the police, it is declared that the same shall be under the authority of the Sultan, recruited by the Makhzen from among Moorish Mussulmans, commanded by Moorish Kaïds, and distributed in the eight ports open to commerce. In order to assist the Sultan in the organization of this force there are to be Spanish and French officers and non-commissioned officers acting as instructors, who are to be placed at the Sultan's disposal by the respective Governments. This portion of the Act contains several articles respecting details.

With regard to the suppression of illicit traffic in arms, the importation of the same and all materials destined exclusively for the manufacture of ammunition is prohibited throughout the whole of the Empire, except explosives necessary for industrial purposes and public works, and arms and ammunition intended for the forces of the Sultan.

With regard to a State bank, it shall be established in Morocco under the name of "The Morocco State Bank," which is to exercise its rights for a period of forty years in accordance with specified rules and regulations. "Each of the following institutions, namely, the German Imperial Bank, the Bank of England, the Bank of Spain, and the Bank of France, shall, with the approval of its Government, appoint a censor to the State Bank of Morocco. The censors shall remain in office for four years. Retiring censors may be reappointed. In the event of death or resignation the vacancy shall be filled by the bank which had appointed the previous holder, but only for the unexpired term of the vacated office." Certain rules are specified with regard to the duties of the censors. "The four censors shall meet at Tangier in the exercise of their functions at least once in every two years, at a date to be fixed by common agreement. Other meetings at Tangier or elsewhere shall be held on the demand of three of the censors. The four censors shall draw up, in common agreement, an annual report, which shall be annexed to that of the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors shall without delay forward a copy of such report to each of the Governments signatory to the Act of the Conference." "The capital, of which the amount shall be fixed by special committee, shall not be less than 15,000,000 fr. nor more than 20,000,000 fr., shall be composed of gold coin, and the shares, the certificates of which shall represent a value equivalent to 5,000 fr., shall be expressed in the different gold currencies at a fixed rate of exchange, as determined by the statutes. This capital may eventually be increased at one or more times by decision of

the general meeting of shareholders. The subscription of such increases of capital shall be reserved to all the shareholders without distinction of groups, in proportion to the number of shares held by each of them. The initial capital of the bank shall be divided into as many equal portions as there are participants among the Powers represented at the Conference. To this end each Power shall designate a bank which shall exercise, either on its own behalf or on behalf of a group of banks, the right of subscription as well as to nominate the directors. . . . Every bank selected as the head of a group may, with the authorization of its Government, be replaced by another bank belonging to the same country." "No alteration shall be made in the statutes except on the proposal of the Board of Directors and with the previous approval of the censors and of the Imperial High Commissioner. Such alterations must be voted at a general meeting of shareholders by a majority of three-quarters of the members present or represented."

There are certain regulations respecting the customs of the Empire and the suppressions of fraud and smuggling. "A permanent committee, styled 'the Customs Committee,' shall be organized at Tangier, and appointed for a term of three years. It shall consist of a special commissioner of His Shereefian Majesty, of a member of the Diplomatic or Consular Body nominated by the Diplomatic Body at Tangier, and of a delegate of the State Bank. The committee may add to its number one or several representatives of the Customs Administration with a consultative voice."

With respect to the public services and public works, "the Signatory Powers declare that in no case shall the rights of the State over the public services of the Shereefian Empire be alienated for the benefit of private interest. Should the Shereefian Government consider it necessary to have recourse to foreign capital or to foreign industries for the working of public services or for the execution of public works, roads, railways, ports, telegraphs, or other,

the Signatory Powers reserve to themselves the right to see that the control of the State over such large undertakings of public interest remains intact."

Finally it is stated, all existing treaties, conventions, and arrangements between the Signatory Powers and Morocco remain in force. It is, however, agreed that, in case their provisions be found to conflict with those of the present General Act, the stipulations of the latter shall prevail.

## THE ABANDONMENT OF ST. HELENA.

By A. G. WISE,

Secretary to the St. Helena Committee.

As a member of the deputation which included the Hon. H. J. Bovell, Member of the Executive Council of St. Helena, Mr. H. Solomon, and the Hon. M. Hicks Beach, M.P., and who waited upon Mr. Haldane at the House of Commons on July 17, 1906, to protest against the proposed withdrawal of the garrison from St. Helena, I gladly avail myself of the permission accorded by the editor of this *Review* to comment briefly on the petition from the inhabitants of that colony which is printed below. A very short time since there was, it may be mentioned, a strong consensus of military opinion that St. Helena should be well fortified and garrisoned. The armament is composed of some twenty guns scientifically placed, so as to command the approaches of the island. As has been pointed out in the *Army and Navy Gazette* by Major Keown, of the Indian army, and others, these guns are of an effective pattern, while three years ago two guns of an up-to-date pattern were landed and placed in position. The present garrison could, it is held, repel the raids of cruisers, and, indeed, any imaginable form of attack, until the arrival of British men-of-war. Moreover, the Eastern Telegraph Company's station will now be completely at the mercy of an enemy. I ventured to ask the Secretary for War if it was intended to dispose of the present guns as scrap-iron, and what steps would be taken to protect the lives and property of Europeans, who would be dependent for their safety on five native policemen. Mr. Haldane contented himself with the barren suggestion that the inhabitants should raise a volunteer force, which, however, is almost impossible, since on the withdrawal of the garrison there will remain only 200 white residents. No saving will be effected, as, if only on humanitarian grounds, it is the duty of the Imperial authorities to make a substantial grant to save the colonists of St. Helena from ruin and starvation.

PETITION FROM THE INHABITANTS OF ST. HELENA TO  
THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF ELGIN AND  
KINCARDINE, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR THE COLONIES.

MY LORD,

We, the inhabitants of St. Helena, respectfully lay before your lordship a petition, which we feel to be urgently necessary in order that you may realize what the proposed abolition of the garrison (which we understand to be the intention of H.M. Government) must mean to all of us. With the military policy entailed we feel that we can have nothing to say. It has no doubt been arrived at as conducive to the strategical efficiency of the army. While, then, we can plead no military grounds for the retention of the troops, yet we feel that in justice to ourselves we must show what the consequences of such a step will be to the prosperity of the island.

2. We, the landowners, business men, and labourers of the island (with the exception of those of us who are the descendants of the slaves so mercifully liberated by the English people), are the descendants of those who were induced by the Honourable East India Company and by the Imperial Government to settle here, with a view to rendering the island self-supporting in cattle, farm produce, stores, and labour. Our time and energies have always been applied to this object.

3. In the days before the opening of the Suez Canal, while this island was still a valuable military possession, a large garrison was maintained. The quantity of shipping which then called here, in conjunction with this large garrison, constituted a market which was as large as we could supply. Since the opening of the Suez Canal the shipping has steadily declined, until last year the number of ships calling fell to ninety-nine. The few vessels which do call take in very little in the way of supplies. Those who formerly gained a living by supplying the shipping here have emigrated, and we have fallen in population from 5,838 in 1871 to 3,512 in 1905.

4. Our remaining market, then, is the small garrison



now left us. The wants of the garrison in one direction or another mean our livelihood. The landowners amongst us depend on the sale of our cattle, our sheep, and our vegetables to it; for there are few here who eat meat except the troops, and these few are enabled to do so because of the money they themselves directly, or indirectly, get from the garrison. We, the business men of the island, also are dependent on the sale of our goods bought either directly or indirectly with money circulated by the garrison. We, the labourers, are almost entirely employed either by the Imperial Government or by those whose transactions with the Imperial Government enable them to employ labour.

5. It is true that the Eastern Telegraph Company staff now here constitute a small market, and circulate a little money. Their demands for cattle, stores, and labour are, however, too small to save landowners or business men, or to employ more than a very few labourers.

6. As we have endeavoured to show your lordship, the purpose for which we were induced to settle here, and to which our main endeavours have always been directed, has been the raising of stock and farm produce. As lately as 1898 the late General Goodenough, R.A., commanding the troops at the Cape, held a meeting under the auspices of His Excellency the late Mr. Sterndale, at which he urged us to increase our stock and to devote our energies to it and to farming, in order to render this island self-supporting in time of war. Many of us on his recommendation went to considerable expenses in importing cattle and sheep from England to improve our island breed. Yet even as matters now stand the market is insufficient; we are overstocked, and cattle must be exported or die, but exportation under the circumstances would mean almost a total loss.

7. We fear that your lordship may not realize how small our other resources are. We are a small community with no capital to start an industry. The only two possible industries could be flax and manganese. The flax, with no capital to work on, and with exceptional difficulties of

transport and freight, we have tried, and so far failed with. The manganese remains to be tried. Either of these industries would, if successful, circulate money and swell the revenue, but would save neither the landowners nor business men. The labourer does not eat meat, nor will he create a market for the business man, whereas the failure of farmer and tradesman must react largely on the labouring class.

8. Our revenue is small. If we have no market for our cattle produce, stores, and labour, the taxes must be lowered, not raised. What, then, must inevitably happen is a large increase of applicants for parish relief, and no money to provide for them. We are proud to remind your lordship that we have always been a loyal, law-abiding population. We can boast of as little crime as any portion of the Empire. With a starving and half-educated population, however, we cannot look forward with confidence to the future.

9. Although, as we have stated, we cannot criticise the military policy involved, yet we feel that we can point out that should the garrison be withdrawn the cattle must be exported or die off, and that farms must be ruined. A garrison sent here in war would find no cattle and no supplies, but would of necessity have to import both. The roads and telephone system, both kept up by the Imperial Government for strategical purposes, could not be kept up by us. A small permanent garrison is, therefore, an insurance that in case of necessity the island should be found stocked, self-supporting, and with the roads and telephones necessary for its defence.

10. Of our services in the past we do not wish to boast, yet we hope we may remind your lordship that this island has at times been of use to the nation—viz., in the case of Napoleon's interment; in later years as a depot for liberated slaves; then for Zulu prisoners; and recently as a suitable place for Boer prisoners of war.

11. We feel that we must point out that a grant-in-aid, even greatly though we hope for it should the garrison be withdrawn, would benefit chiefly the public works, hospital

and Government employés and organizations. The money thus circulated would benefit the labour section of the community by employing those now employed by the Imperial Government. It cannot, however, materially alter the condition of the landowners, business men, or labourers employed by them.

12. We have endeavoured to lay before your lordship the circumstances of the case, and we hope that we have shown that by no want of energy on our part we are dependent on the presence of the garrison. In good faith we have entrusted our all to the providing of the wants of the garrison, and we hope that through your lordship the English people may realize that we fellow-citizens of the Empire are in peril of losing our possessions, lands, and homes. We cannot realize our lands with none to purchase, for if the troops are taken away land will have no value; we cannot emigrate, for to most of us the Cape is now closed.\* We are proud of being a historical, and we hope in our way valuable, part of the Empire, and in confidence we submit this petition to your lordship and to the English people, and humbly request that the troops may not be withdrawn.

ST. HELENA, *April 9, 1906.*

The foregoing petition was signed by the whole male population of St. Helena, including all the members of the Executive Council, and forwarded by the Governor, Colonel Gallwey, C.M.G., D.S.O., with a covering despatch strongly urging its favourable consideration.

A committee has been formed, titled "the St. Helena Committee" (offices 60, St. Mary Axe, London, E.C.), to promote the interests of the inhabitants of St. Helena, and seeks to obtain a grant from the Imperial Government to compensate landowners, owners of stock, and others whose interests are very seriously menaced by the withdrawal of the troops.

A. G. WISE.

\* Immigrants are not allowed to land in South Africa unless they possess ten pounds sterling in cash.

## TAOISM.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THERE has always been a persistent disposition on the part of European writers who have discussed this question to consider Taoism purely as a religion, and to trace its origin to the spontaneity of Lao-tsz or Laocius, whose life covered the greater part of the sixth century before Christ. The real fact is that throughout the whole of ancient Chinese history, so far as we can know it at all by the light of surviving literature, there was always a fundamental notion that the Emperors, as vicegerents of Heaven or of God, governed according to the *Tao* or "way"; and to walk in this way, or, as we express it in common parlance, "to do the right thing," was supposed to be the special study of the Emperor, his advisers, and his officers, besides being loosely understood of the people in a general sense; much as we in England flatter ourselves we all know right from wrong, though we allow divines the privilege of preaching to us what we know on fixed weekly occasions. Hence what we consider the separate departments of government, law, religion, and morals, were never divided off very clearly from each other in the Chinese State conception, and were each regarded as a symptom-treatment rather than an ideal or a definite end in the general scheme of order and human happiness based upon an assumed natural law. In the same way, both before and after the appearance of Lao-tsz's new doctrine, the word *Tao* was appropriated by all schools of thought, and was not the exclusive property of anyone. In fact, to a Confucianist\* of the second century before Christ belongs the honour of having best defined the word in its largest abstract sense. He says: "*Tao* is that which is free of vice for all eternity, whilst vice is that in which there has been a lapse from *Tao*."

\* Tung Chung-shu, "Han Shu," chap. 56, p. 17.

It may be added that the assiduous cultivation and practice of *Tao* was from earliest times supposed to generate a habit called *Têh*, which we Westerners commonly translate "virtue," but which seems rather to mean the quality of mind, just as Shakespeare tells us that "The quality of mercy is not strained." In my book, "China and Religion,"\* therefore, I have continued to use the terms "Providence" and "Grace," which I originally applied in the *Dublin Review* to the two divisions of the Classic of *Tao* and *Têh*—the book of 5,000 words, written by Lao-tsz at request about 500 B.C.; but it must be remembered that Lao-tsz, in his anxiety to stay the degeneration of his age, had long before that been accepted all over China as the leader of a new school, and that school had already extended the original meaning of *Tao* by endeavouring to identify the springs of human conduct with the workings of cosmogony and the processes of unconscious evolution. It must also be remembered that long after Lao-tsz's death, a succession of fanciful philosophers† had gradually given positive form to this purely theoretical cosmogony and evolution, and had constructed upon it a systematic fabric of hocus-pocus and fable, which base decoction at the beginning of our era, by borrowings from Buddhism and probably also from the Tartar, Japanese, Corean, and other beliefs, became a sort of religion or superstition, as far as possible removed from Lao-tsz's original teachings. These successive phases—pure political philosophy, fanciful courtiers' imagery, and popular spiritual superstition—have ever since then so run into and obscured each other that the true historical issues have become confused except where original texts have been studied; with the result that Taoism is unfairly described, and Lao-tsz himself, together with his book, is rashly denounced as a myth.

Accurate dates in Chinese history—the general truth of

\* John Murray, 1905.

† Chwang-tsz, Lieh-tsz, Wang Hü, Shī-tsz, Tsou-tsz, T'ien-tsz, etc.

which, however, there is no reason to doubt—only begin with the middle of the ninth century before Christ. The imperial or old centralized power was then beginning to decline, and the satrapies or vassal States which throughout two millenniums at least had quietly submitted to central guidance, were now beginning to feel and to employ their own strength. The empire was still practically confined to the valley of the Hwang Ho or Yellow River, and the more northerly of the federated vassals had all their work cut out for them to defend this comparatively circumscribed region from the inroads of the horse-riding nomads of the north; no other enemies seem to have been very dangerous. Though the historians and political writers, from Confucius downwards, bewail the decay of good old patriarchal principles, the real fact seems to be that the settled race which we call Chinese had for long been rapidly growing in material wealth and cultivated intelligence; it required expansion, and the old system of government was no longer able to cope with rising ambitions: in short, “home rule” and “duma” were the cry then as now. There is ample evidence that several of the northerly princes were semi-Tartar in their habits and modes of government;\* that their rulers occasionally bore Tartar names; that journeys to the Far West, supposed to have been made by Chinese Emperors, were really expeditions to the Tarim valley made by Tartaro-Chinese vassal Princes; that the Chinese borrowed many notions—including the celebrated twelve-animal cycle still in use all over Asia—from the Tartars; and that (as Confucius afterwards admitted) China had been within an ace of losing its independence and becoming a Tartar province, or at least a Tartar milch-cow. The situation was, in short, much like that of Europe at different stages, when vassals of the feeble Roman Emperors set up as semi-independent monarchs in Gaul, Germany, Spain, and Pannonia, or when Christendom was within an ace of becoming Hun or Arab.

\* The States of Ts'in, Tsin, Chao, Yen.

One of the greatest characters in Chinese history is Kwan-tsz, who, during the seventh century before Christ, raised the vassal State of Ts'i (the northern part of Shan Tung province), to an hitherto unheard-of pitch of prosperity. He developed the salt and fishing industries, encouraged commerce, beautified and made gay with seductive pleasures his master's capital, and was equally keen in the interests of literature. His own book\* of eighty-six chapters still survives in great part, and is considered, in fact, to be one of the earliest works on Taoism, though by some historians he is assigned a place amongst the law writers. The Prince under whom Kwan-tsz served was the first of the "Five Tyrants," who for a century (685-591 B.C.), in the capacity of self-nominated Cæsars, protected the imperial Augustus on the one hand and their own vassal colleagues on the other, from the Tartar attacks and from the evils of civil war. It was of Kwan-tsz, indeed, that Confucius spoke when he said: "Had it not been for him, China would have worn [Tartar] pigtails."

It was after the Five Tyrant period, when the different vassal States were all struggling for supremacy, that the retired scholar Lao-tsz (who was earning his livelihood as a keeper of the archives at the puppet Imperial Court) attracted his neighbours' attention by his new definitions of what *Tao* ought to be. According to the old historical way of putting it, the old *Tao* of the ancient kings was rapidly decaying; the same *Tao* of the reigning imperial dynasty was falling off; the vassals found *Tao* a check upon their ambition; hence there was no *Têh*, or educated quality inherent in men's minds; and so on. An active exchange of visits between the learned men of each State

\* It has been argued by those who wish to discredit Lao-tsz's book that Kwan-tsz, "who lived in the fifth century," does not mention that book. As a matter of fact, the late Alexander Wylie, in his "Notes on Chinese Literature," wrote "fifth" instead of "seventh" century, and his mistake has been weakly copied by subsequent critics. In Dr. S. W. Bushell's "Chinese Art," there are specimens of the writing employed in Kwan-tsz's time.

is very clearly stated to have gone on ever since inter-State commerce became general at the initiative of Kwan-tsz, and great fairs or marts had grown up at a dozen or more of trade centres\* in the Yellow River Valley; and, of course, the small State under the immediate rule of the Emperor, though low down now in power and political importance, was still much sought as a literary centre, and as a depository of duplicate archives for reference and of ancient collections—literary, ceremonial, pictorial, musical, and what not. Apart from the fact that standard history and philosophical writings both repeatedly record the specific visit or visits of Confucius to Lao-tsz, with their conversations, there is every reason to suppose that he would do so, not only because it was the universal custom of literary men to do so if they could afford it, but because he is known to have visited most of the States in the Yellow River Valley, and to have had literary friends in each. For example, the standard history† published (for Court use in the first instance) about 90 B.C., states specifically that “the persons most sedulously cultivated by Confucius were Lao-tsz in the Imperial domain; K’ü-pêh-yü† in the State of Wei; Yen P’ing-chung§ in the State of Ts’i; Lao-lai-tsz|| in the State of Ts’u; Tsz-ch’an¶ in the State of Chêng; and Mêng-kung Ch’oh in his own native State of Lu.”

The object of the Chinese statesmen who exhibited such mental activity at this period was not at all to “save their

\* These are enumerated at the end of chap. cxxix. of the “Shi-Ki,” published 90 B.C.

† S. K., 67, 1.

‡ Several times mentioned in at least two of the Confucian classics.

§ The philosopher Yen-tsz, himself ranked as a Confucianist, but a great critic of their principles. As a Ts’i administrator, he was scarcely inferior to Kwan-tsz himself.

|| A Taoist philosopher, whose book of sixteen chapters still existed in 10 B.C.

¶ The first statesman to publish laws for the people (see the *Law Quarterly Review* for April, 1906, “Principles of Chinese Law and Equity”).



souls," and prepare for another life, but to devise acceptable formulas with a view to stay the ruinous, secular, and contemporary race for wealth, power, and glory during this life. The situation was in many respects politically analogous to that of Europe at this moment when a few enthusiasts are vainly striving for reduced armaments and a simple life in the face of trusts, "bosses," and restless Imperial personages. The word *ju*, usually translated "literati," or Confucianists, signified the school anxious to bring back men's minds to the old order of things, to the *Tao* of the almost prehistoric\* Emperors Yao and Shun, and of the founders† Wên Wang and Wu Wang of the Imperial dynasty then still reigning, but running to decay. Confucius was not the first of this school, any more than Lao-tsz was the first of the Taoists; but Confucius best voiced the leading tenets of this school, and is therefore held to be the first representative apostle of the *ju*; just as Lao-tsz, who first conceived, developed, and voiced the republican, socialistic, and democratic extension of *Tao*, is usually considered the representative apostle of Taoism, though he was by no means the first Taoist, and though still later Taoism than his own had little in common with his own ideas.

During the fourth century before Christ, the Princes of Ts'i, Chao, and Ngwei—all powerful vassal States of "great power" rank in the Yellow River Valley, within the limits of modern Chih Li and Shan Tung—entertained quite a large number of learned men and distinguished philosophers. Among the Confucianists were Mencius, whose book, still studied by every Chinese schoolboy, gives us vivid notions of the relations existing between territorial Princes and peripatetic philosophers in those days; Ch'un-yü K'un, who declined to accept office; Li K'eh, pupil of Confucius' disciple Tsz-hia, who (Tsz-hia) had himself been the tutor of the ruler of Ngwei, and had trained up at least half a dozen other distinguished men,

\* Circa 2300 B.C.

† Circa 1100 B.C.

both civil and military, at that Court. Among the legists was Li K'wei, whose code, though its details have disappeared, is at the root of all subsequent Chinese law to this very day;\* Wei Yang, who carried Li K'wei's legal and politico-economical principles to the Western Court of Ts'in (Shen Si province), and thus prepared the way for the ultimate conquest of China by that power; Shên Puh-hai, the Draco of China (better known as the Taoist philosopher Shên-tsz, because his ideas were based on Lao-tsz's legal notions), whose book in six sections was still in existence in 10 B.C.; and Zhên Tao, also known as the Taoist philosopher Zhên-tsz,† whose book in forty-two sections was also still known in 10 B.C., and even partly survives to this day. The quietist school, or pure Taoists of Lao-tsz model, had a curious fancy for hiding their family identity under *nommes de guerre*, it being a part of their democratic and socialistic temper to efface, so far as it was possible, individuality and personal distinctions of all kinds. So much was this the case, that, even within a century or so of their deaths, curious antiquarian writers‡ often found it impossible to discover their family and personal appellations. Of these innominates were Tsieh-tsz and Hwan Yüan, the latter apparently identical with the Taoist philosopher and pupil of Lao-tsz, Yen Yüan or Yen-tsz,§ whose book of thirteen sections was also extant in 10 B.C.

During this fourth century before Christ, the diplomatic school of political intriguers, headed by the notorious Su Ts'in and Chang I. (both of whom had studied under the Taoist recluse Wang Hü, better known by his pseudonym Kwei-kuh-tsz),|| accentuated, developed, and brought into

\* See "Principles of Chinese Law and Equity" in the *Law Quarterly Review* for April last.

† I write "Zhên" to distinguish from "Shên" just mentioned, the ancient initial not being capable of reproduction now, and being bound up with the "tone."

‡ "Han Shu," chap. lxxii., 1.

§ Not to be confused with the Yen-tsz already mentioned.

|| "Shi-Ki," chap. lxx., 1.

active, tortuous play the innocuous and perfectly honest administrative ideas suggested by Lao-tsz; and the following century witnessed the efforts of the "four heroes" to stem the rising tide of Ts'in, and to prevent if possible the conquest of China, which was now being openly attempted by that formidable State. At this period, known to history as that of the Contending States Period,\* the individuality of reigning Princes was beginning to be overshadowed by the virile qualities of their prime ministers. The "four heroes" just mentioned were the practical rulers of Ts'i, Chao, and Ngwei, and of a fourth great power called Ts'u, which had developed out of Annamese stock and Chinese colonists in the Hwai and Yang-tsze valleys. These four statesmen made it their business to collect at their respective courts all the learned men they could induce to settle there. For instance, the philosopher Sün-tsz, or Sincius (chiefly celebrated for his taking the view, opposed to that of Mencius, that human nature was at root corrupt and not pure), was given office by Hwang Hieh, the Bismarck of Ts'u, in whose honour modern Shanghai still bears a peculiar literary† name. Sün-tsz had studied under the cosmogonist Tsou Yen, and has left us a book in thirty-three sections, one of which is devoted entirely‡ to Lao-tsz and his philosophy. Another distinguished contemporary of Tsou Yen was the great General Yoh I, whose family was strongly and hereditarily Taoist, and furnishes several individual links in the chain, connecting Lao-tsz himself directly with the Taoist teachers at the great revolution of 200 B.C.

It is hardly too much to say that during the Fighting State Period Confucianism had become quite discredited: it was considered unmanly. Or, rather, the struggle for political existence was so desperate that, like Christianity during the French Revolution, its tenets were temporarily thrust aside as being more suitable for women and old

\* 481-230 B.C.

† Ch'un-shên.

‡ See vol. xiii. of the *China Review*, Mr. E. Faber's statements.

men, the sick and the feeble—as being inconvenient for the busy days of strife. Taoism, on the other hand, especially the corrupt diplomatic and legist schools now affiliated to it by their own superimposition of “dogma,” was in high favour, especially at the virile Ts'in Court, where for at least a century back the most far-seeing and deliberate preparations had been made to get rid of antiquated, wishy-washy notions, and to encompass the subjection of all China under one supreme tyrant, and his “salt of the earth” and *dése-majesté* ridden subjects. This ambitious object was at last achieved in 221 B.C., when the triumphant ruler of Ts'in, having by a bold admixture of force and intrigue, succeeded in destroying the power of each formidable opponent State in detail, declared himself “first Emperor,” and ordained that, instead of being consecrated with posthumous personal appellations, his successors should be innominate and simply numbered for ever. Satrapies were abolished; government centralized in provinces and prefectures; writing reformed and unified; weights and measures standardized; roads and cart-axles made of one size, etc.

To illustrate how deeply the new dispensation was affected by Taoist principles, it may be mentioned that the new Emperor's Chancellor Li Sz (who had, moreover, studied under the philosopher Sün-tsz\*), adopted the draconic system of ruling developed by the two legists Shên Puh-hai and Wei Yang. Another distinguished Taoist and legist, Han Fei, had hastened during the process of conquest to the Ts'in Court, in order to save his own State, and to consult with his friend Li Sz. Han Fei, like Li Sz, had been a pupil of Sün-tsz, and he had even written a book for the use of Li Sz, who, however, ultimately felt jealous of his superior abilities, and ungratefully connived at his murder in 233 B.C. Han Fei's chief

\* It will be seen, from this and other instances which follow, that at this period Taoists and Confucianists studied together in a friendly way, often under the same teachers.

work, in fifty-five sections, is still with us, and intact. Although he is officially classed as a legist, he is, like Shên Puh-hai, treated in the biographical sections of history as a Taoist. He quotes Lao-tsz very largely, and is, in short, one of the chief understudies and developers of Lao-tsz and his book.

The first Emperor, though under strong Taoist influence, and more especially under the influence of the mystic and charlatan developments of later Taoism, was not in the least actively hostile to the Confucianists, until, on the occasion of his visiting the sacred mountain of Ts'i State\* in order to celebrate his victories by sacrifice, he was confronted with unwelcome and organized Confucian opposition in the shape of "deputations" and reminders about forms and precedents. It must here be explained that the whole of Chinese literature in those days consisted (so far as we know it) of the classics—as expurgated and edited by Confucius—and of the philosophical works of the "hundred writers" or critics, all of whom, unless they were specialists in medicine, agriculture, war, astrology, and so on, drew lessons from the same old hackneyed events and sayings; and, according to whether they were Confucianists and divine-righters, Taoists and radicals, Legists and absolutists, Cosmogonists, Purists, Denominationalists, or what not, placed interpretations and extracted morals as best conformed with their own particular preconceived views; much as certain didactic moralists amongst ourselves—as, for instance, the late President Krüger—draw illustration and warning from the acts of Rehoboam who made Israel to sin, David and Absalom, Ananias and Sapphira, or Daniel in the lions' den. In his eagerness to establish a new and homogeneous order of things, the Emperor found himself continually thwarted in his pleasures and confused in his schemes by these Savonarolas and Jeremiahs; and so in the year 213 B.C., at the suggestion of his obsequious

\* T'ai Shan, where all Emperors like to make solemn dynastic sacrifices, even in modern times.

Chancellor Li Sz, he conceived and carried into instant execution the drastic notion of entrapping and putting to death all the learned men he could lay his hands on, besides destroying all the contentious literature. If we reflect that in those days books were simply enormous masses of thin bamboo slips, each slip bearing upon one face only from a dozen to a score of characters, laboriously traced in varnish, and strung together by a thong at one end into chapters, each chapter weighing from two to three pounds, it may be imagined that the possessors of books were few and well-known; in fact, "clerks" were as rare as at the English Conquest, when even Earls and Bishops could not sign their names. Of the classics, the Book of Changes was spared,\* as it fell under the category of divination or astrology, which science, together with those of medicine and agriculture, was considered harmless, and even useful to the public weal. The Emperor's hatred was more particularly directed against the "Book of Odes" and the "Book of History," for merely possessing which unprivileged persons were liable to the penalty of death. Nothing is specifically said of Taoist works having been spared; but, on the other hand, there is no mention whatever of any Taoist work or Taoist student having been destroyed. As the new empire was notoriously founded upon the doctrines of the Legist school of Taoists, it is highly probable that Taoist works, especially those of the quietist school, which were careful not to criticise individuals or mention definite dates and places,† were never in any way interfered with.

The first Emperor died before he had been able to consolidate the really great, if violent, work he had planned out and carried to such a successful conclusion. His son, the second Emperor, was not made of his father's stern

\* There are four official statements to this positive effect, all before the Christian era.

† Neither Lao-tsz nor Kwan-yin-tsz, his friend, ever names a person or place.

stuff, and the loosely-tied knot soon became undone. The adventurers and generals who fought for the reversion of the rich prize were much too busy with their armies and their commissariat to trouble their minds about morals or philosophy. At last a jovial *viveur* of the people, who had gradually risen from the position of raiser of militia to the dignity of Duke of P'ei and Prince of Han, found himself in the year 202 B.C. firmly seated on the throne as founder of the Han dynasty. Although no single word is anywhere said of his having any Taoist proclivities, it is repeated over and over again that he utterly despised Confucianism and all its ways. Moreover, he gloried in simplicity and rough-and-ready remedies. He declined to wear long robes, to go through any ceremonial forms, to discuss questions of propriety, to bow and scrape, or to listen to goody-goody sermons of any kind. He said: "I have won the empire on my horse's back, and not by listening to your rotten Confucian stuff." "Just so, your Majesty," said the distinguished diplomatist Luh Kia; "but can you also hold it together on horseback?" Before he died the Emperor was to a certain extent tamed. He allowed the Confucianists to arrange a test court for him, and rather enjoyed playing the magnificent. "Now," said he, "now I see what a great thing it is to be Son of Heaven." There was some talk even of a sacrificial hall, and a resuscitation of the old ancestral sacrifices. After his death in 195 B.C. female intrigues about succession and other sordid family disputes placed purely military advisers once more in power during the short reigns of his young legitimate son and of that son's mother, the Dowager; so nothing whatever was said about either political Confucianism or political Taoism for some years. The tyrannical law about the possession of Confucian books was, however, suspended, and no time was lost in hunting for copies of the old literature. Ts'ao Ts'an, the premier or chancellor from 193 to 190 B.C., was not only himself a Taoist and a student of Lao-tsz, governing on Taoist principles, but he intro-

duced to the imperial court an old Ts'i philosopher named Koh Kung, who had received his tuition from the Yoh family, already mentioned, and could trace the teaching through six pedagogues, back even to Lao-tsz himself.

The Emperor Wên Ti was the elder son, but by a concubine, of the founder of the Han dynasty, and came to the throne in 180 B.C.. He is often called the Marcus Aurelius of China, on account of his calm and philosophical disposition. Though decidedly Taoist in his views, he was considered to belong rather to the Denominationalist school of lawyers—that is, to the “equity” men, as distinguished from the more severe and strictly punitive school of Shên Puh-hai and Han Fei. As might be expected from his character, Wên Ti achieved much in the way of law reform, especially in the direction of abolishing mutilation and vicarious punishments.\* Though Taoist in his views, he was no enemy of the Confucianists; on the contrary, so soon as ever he heard that a copy of the “Book of History” had been discovered, he sent one of his leading statesmen to look for the old man who had buried it in 213 B.C., and who had since taken advantage of the suspension of the “law against possessing odes and history,” to unearth it, and to teach what survived of it once more in the old states of Ts'i and Lu (now mere provinces). Thus the “Book of History” was the first of the classics to come to light again, and the others gradually reappeared bit by bit in analogous ways, there being a complete record in each case of how they were found, who studied them, who were the best authorities, which the best editions, how the keys were discovered which enabled the antiquated form of writing to be scientifically compared with the simplified forms introduced by the first Emperor; and how Wên Ti, like his father, showed a tendency at least, if no eagerness, to re-admit the half-forgotten Confucian ceremonial and tenets into the Palace on an official basis.

But there was a serious obstacle: *Cherchez la femme.*

\* See “Principles of Chinese Law and Equity,” cited above.



His wife, the Empress Tou, was not only an admirer of Lao-tsz's doctrines, but for some political reason not explained in detail she intensely disliked Confucianism. There are over a dozen specific narratives of her behaviour upon this question scattered over various chapters of the great history of Sz-ma Ts'ien (issued 90 B.C.) and that of the early Han dynasty (covering the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 1). She is distinctly stated to have insisted on her son, the Emperor King Ti, son of Wên Ti, and also on her own clansmen of the Tou family who were at court, studying\* the sayings of Lao-tsz. The story is over and over again narrated of how during the reign of Wu Ti, her grandson, she consulted a prominent Confucianist about the *book* of Lao-tsz; how she condemned him to risk his life in the wild-boar arena as a penalty for having spoken contemptuously of that *book*, but how he was saved by the sensible Emperor (who regretted, but was powerless to correct the Dowager's anger) lending him a first-class pig-sticking javelin of his own, and thus saving his life. This was all in 139 B.C., or before it. It is also repeatedly narrated how the old Dowager succeeded in ruining the official careers of two other Confucianists, named Wang Tsang and Chao Kwan, who were anxious to reintroduce conservative customs.

As to King Ti himself, an anecdote is told of an argument which took place earlier in his own presence between the Confucianist Yüan Ku (the one who was afterwards condemned to pig-sticking for abusing Lao-tsz's book) and the Taoist scholar Hwang Shêng (the same man who instructed Sz-ma Ts'ien's father Sz-ma T'an in Taoism), and how the level-headed Emperor succeeded in closing the mouths of the disputants by a shrewd witticism about "a man not being a fool for saying half what he thinks." Other anecdotes are related of the same magnanimous Emperor in connection with Taoist statesmen who had

\* The word is *tuh*, "to read," and necessarily involves a book, which, moreover, is twice specifically mentioned.

reproved him during his father's reign, and whose outspokenness he forgave when he himself came to the throne.

Wu Ti was the son and successor of King Ti ; it was under his reign that China discovered the Far West, and underwent great political expansion in the south, the Tartar steppes, and the Far East. He was from the beginning inclined to suspicion, credulity, and superstition. Even before he came to the throne, in 141 B.C., the pure old Taoist philosophy had, as we have seen, been sadly wrested beyond its primitive scope by the quacks and the wonder-mongers ; and many are the tales told of the pranks played at court by a succession of impostors who professed to have had spiritual relations with An-k'i-shêng and other more or less innominate Taoists of the first Emperor's time, and even beyond, and whose existence (though most probably genuine) had become still more obscured in men's memories since the destruction of records and learning ; besides, the inveterate quietism and self-effacement of the leading Taoists, many of whom went into hiding when they heard how rude the Han founder was to Confucian scholars, made it often impossible to ascertain their family names even at that time ; and it is so stated. It was in order to counteract the Emperor's superstitious tendencies, and to prove that Lao-tsz was not a miracle worker, but a common man with known and commonplace antecedents like the rest of us, that the historians Sz-ma T'an and his son Sz-ma Ts'ien deliberately consecrated a special chapter of their history book to the Taoists.\* Meagre though the personal details of Lao-tsz given to us are, they are yet as full as in the case of many if not most of the old philosophical personages ; Mencius, for instance, of whom even less is recounted. The last thing, at any rate, that Sz-ma Ts'ien can be charged with is want of candour, for he eventually suffered the cruel punishment of castration for

\* The masterly translation of this great work by Professor Chavannes, of Paris, has already reached five volumes in 2,000 pages.

his outspokenness before Wu Ti; and not a single Confucian, while they all of them condemn him and his father for ranking Lao-tsz and his doctrine above Confucianism, has a solitary word to say against the historian's fairness and good faith. Though Sz-ma Ts'ien gives us all the "yarns" then in vogue about Lao-tsz, *alias* Lao-tan, and relates naïvely and frankly how he has been confused with his quasi-namesake, the Taoist Lao-lai-tsz, and even with another archivist named Tan, who lived two centuries later than Lao-tsz, he makes it quite clear himself, and the commentators and critics make it clearer still, that the historian wished to, and did successfully in his chapter upon Lao-tsz, distinguish between the small amount of truth procurable and the large amount of popular tradition which smothered that truth. Besides, Sz-ma Ts'ien criticises and quotes whole passages from Lao-tsz's book; moreover, he devotes the introductory parts of two separate chapters to parallel quotations from Confucius and Lao-tsz, in order to contrast their opinions as bearing upon the subject in hand.\*

During Wu Ti's reign there were two great collectors of books, both of them imperial princes, reigning semi-independently as satraps of provinces, but under the supremacy of the Emperor in matters of public law and general policy. These princes were Liu Ngan, Prince of Hwai-nan, grandson of the founder Liu Pei; and Liu Hien, Prince of Ho-kien, son of King Ti; and consequently, like Wu Ti himself, great-grandson of the founder. The former of these two has left the greater reputation behind him, partly on account of the sad fate which overtook himself and his father in turn in connection with political intrigue, and partly on account of his having left behind him a philosophical work known as "Hwai-nan-tsz,"† which we

\* It has been absurdly argued that Sz-ma Ts'ien never saw the book or believed in its existence.

† The book of Lao-tsz was at first known by no other name than "Lao-tsz," and whenever Han Fei, Wên-tsz, Hwai-nan-tsz, or any other ancient writer quotes it, he says, "Lao-tsz says." In the same way

still possess intact. Probably the prince himself (who is said, however, to have been a very quiet man) had nothing to do with the actual writing or composing of the book which bears his name, and which quotes about sixty or seventy important passages from Lao-tsz in order to point the moral of as many political anecdotes. When he says "hence Lao-tsz says"; he means "hence the book of Lao-tsz says," and when he wishes specifically to speak of the man he calls him Lao-tan. He also repeatedly quotes Kwan-tsz, Confucius, Shên-tsz, Zhên-tsz, and most of the other philosophers of the old days, but (so far as I can find) he never names Mencius, nor does Mencius name Lao-tsz. The Chinese historians do not class him as a Taoist at all, but as a *tsah-kia*, "mixed man," or "eclectic." He quotes as much of the cosmogony of Tsou Yen as he does of the quietism of Lao-tsz, and hence has as much right to be considered a Cosmogonist as a Taoist. Nothing could be more inept, therefore, than to argue that Lao-tsz's book is a forgery of the early part of our own era, made up of a re-hash of Han Fei and Hwai-nan-tsz, who quote him so freely literally and by name in the third and second century before our era; not to speak of the fact that Lao-tsz's own specifically-described book was also actually in the hands of the Empress Tou nearly two centuries earlier than our era.

But Hwai-nan's nephew, or cousin once removed, the Prince of Ho-kien,\* was even a greater and a more discriminating collector than his senior counted by generations. He entertained an even higher class of literati at his court than his kinsman, and also by the thousand; moreover, he spared no money to search out, carefully recopy for the owner, and himself purchase at any cost, the ancient originals of any and every valuable historical

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"Mencius says," or "Confucius says." Later on Lao-tsz's book was called the "Tao-têh Sections," and later still the (two sections) "Tao Classic" and "Têh Classic."

\* "Shi-Ki," 59, 1; "Han Shu," 53, 1.

manuscript he could obtain. It is distinctly stated by the historian Pan Ku\* that among the rare old books purchased by Prince Ho-kien were copies of Lao-tsz and Mencius, both of them in the ancient character used previously to the destruction of literature in 213 B.C.—and also previously to the existence of the Ts'in dynasty—as also ancient copies of the “Book of History” and the “Book of Rites.” His collection of books is stated to have been superior even to that of the imperial court; and when he visited that court in state, he was able to present to his brother, the Emperor Wu Ti, some fine ancient music; besides introducing to His Majesty an aged musician who was practised in the traditions of the Ngwei court in Mencius' time. Pan Ku's commentator even goes on to say that the earlier historian, Sz-ma Ts'ien, who wrote before him, had omitted to state these facts, and some others like them; so that there is no suspicion attached to them. The Prince of Ho-kien, besides, was himself the author of a work in eighteen sections (bearing his name), called “Imperial Institutes,” and was a great patron of Confucianists and “*Tao* craft”—the last words being used here (and often elsewhere) singularly enough not to mean the “Taoism” of Lao-tsz, but the ancient *Tao* of the patriarchal kings.

The superstitious Emperor Wu Ti, whose credulity had led indirectly to the judicial murder of his own son and heir in connection with some trials for witchcraft, and thus to the intrigues of his learned uncle-cousin, the Prince of Hwainan, for the imperial succession, repented him of his many political and “religious” errors before he died, and more especially of the brilliant conquests that have shed such lustre upon his name, but which then seemed to many so unnecessary, and which cost so many myriads of lives, and impoverished the resources of China so grievously. Even during his father King Ti's reign, Confucian statesmen had been patronized at court so far as the Dowager would allow; and during the long reign of Wu Ti (141-87 B.C.)

\* Died A.D. 92; author of the “Han Shu.”

they may be said to have gradually ousted the Lao-tsz Taoist element altogether, which had become discredited, partly\* because the pure quietism of Lao-tsz had been encrusted by inferior imitators with mysticism, wonder-mongering, and alchemy; partly because Confucianism was found after all to be more practically useful to a now thoroughly centralized power; and partly because long wars, rebellions of satraps, princely insolences, and revolutions had impoverished the capacity for literary productiveness of the leisured classes, and the almost complete rediscovery of the old classics had provided ready-made instruments for more settled government.

The imperial family of Liu (or Han)† really deserves everlasting credit for its literary services. Towards the beginning of the Christian era Liu Hiang, the great-great-grandnephew of the founder, and Liu Hiang's son Liu Hin, had almost entirely reconstituted the *corpus* of then known literature; indeed, the Han historians give us a complete list of the books existing at the imperial court, or at least known there in, say, 10 B.C., the year before Liu Hiang's death. There were 13,269 rolls‡ or chapters, contained in 596 separate works upon thirty-eight classes of subjects, grouped under six heads—classics, writers, poetry, theories, science, and craft. The *Tao-kia*, or Taoist authors, occupied the first place of honour in the second group, coming immediately after the six classics, and the list of prominent *ju*, or Confucianists. Moreover, the Taoist writers are apparently arranged pretty closely according to their dates, there being, it would seem, no book extant at that time (B.C. 10) between the book of Kwan-tsz§ (who may therefore be styled the last of the old *Tao-kia*), and the book of Lao-tsz|| (who, as we have seen, gave a fresh impetus to the ancient *Tao*). There were no fewer than three editions,

\* As the Chinese say, "the pearls were confused with fishes' eyes."

† Liu was the family name; Han the principality (and later the dynasty).

‡ Silk, and a sort of "paper" made of waste silk, had partly replaced bamboo slips long before the discovery of paper proper in about A.D. 90.

§ Seventh century B.C.

|| About 500 B.C.

by three separate editors, all named, of Lao-tsz in the imperial library; and Liu Hiang himself had contributed a fourth work, in four sections, called "Liu Hiang's Comments on Lao-tsz." Next in order came the book, in nine sections, of Lao-tsz's own pupil Wên-tsz, who was also the pupil of Confucius' disciple Tsz-hia, and who is mentioned in the well-known work of the philosopher Mêh-tsz or Meccius.\* Wên-tsz's own book quotes Lao-tsz; but on account of its relating imaginary ancient conversations, it is characterized in the list as being "apparently a mere borrower from others." Then there were the thirteen sections of Yen Yüan (a pupil of Lao-tsz), who, as already suggested, was perhaps identical with Hwan Yüan, the Taoist found at the courts of Ts'i and Ngwei during the fourth century B.C.; nine sections of the Taoist Kwan-yin-tsz, at whose request Lao-tsz wrote his book; fifty-two sections of the fanciful Taoist Chwang-tsz, who has never had much weight as a philosopher, but, on the other hand, is incomparable as a *litterateur*; and eight sections of the somewhat apocryphal Taoist Lieh-tsz;† twenty-five sections of the Taoist T'ien P'ien, who was also at the court of Ts'i in Mencius' time; and sixteen sections of Confucius' friend, the Taoist Lao-lai-tsz, who was even then mistaken by some ignorant persons for Lao-tsz himself.

When we reflect what are our own difficulties with Greek, Roman, and Hebrew classical and scriptural texts, we can scarcely wonder that these Chinese volumes—rediscovered, reconstituted, and re-edited between 200 B.C. and 10 B.C.; at a time, too, when a new form of script had just come into vogue to suit the newly-invented hair pencil; when bamboo slips were giving way to rolls of silk, and cheap paper was just about to be discovered to replace the

\* Mêh-tsz took rank in the old philosophical discussions with Confucius; the expression "K'ung-Mêh" is often used in the sense of the *ju* or Confucianists.

† Many years ago Dr. Eitel said all there was to say about the genuineness or otherwise of this book. Whatever its origin, it certainly existed long before our era, and is characteristic of the times.

expensive silk paper made out of silk waste—should at best leave much to be desired in points of historical perfection, accuracy of text, confusion of text with comment, expurgations and additions, etc. ; but, as the Chinese are absolutely and exclusively the sole authorities for everything that concerns themselves and their neighbours at that remote date, and as their historical conscience and historical scruple have always taken the highest rank for good faith, it is monstrous for Europeans, possessing at best a mere smattering of this vast body of literature, to come forward with the ridiculous theory that neither Lao-tsz nor his book ever in fact existed, but are, on the contrary, mere creatures of imagination and forgery subsequent to the beginning of our era. The real fact is, this outrageous theory was first broached without reflection or ripe study, with the apparent objective of attracting attention and gaining notoriety ; it can only be wantonly defended now by garbling and tampering with texts which are, and always have been, quite convincing to the Chinese themselves.

One of the commentators and critics of the Han history, anterior to the great Yen Shī-ku of the seventh century, was Ts'ui Hao, who lived in the fifth century of our era. He is absolutely the only man in standard history, for 1,000 years after Lao-tsz's death, who has in the remotest degree expressed doubt about Lao-tsz's book. It is related of him that "he had no liking for Lao-Chwang books, was wont to cast them aside impatiently after reading them a little, and declared that such nonsense could not have been written by Lao-tsz, for Lao-tan was able to instruct even Confucius in propriety ; *and of such trashy books it might well be said, as Yüan Ku said in 139 B.C., that they were more suitable for a pack of retainers than for a royal court.*" The fact that Ts'ui Hao says "books of Lao and Chwang," or alternatively\* "Chwang and Lao," proves

\* The "Pēh Shī" has one form and the "Wei Shu" the other, both works treating of the Tartar dynasties of North China, and Ts'ui Hao's biography being nearly identical in both histories.



that he was thinking of "Lao-Chwangism" generally, and could not have meant exclusively the *Tao-têh* King of Lao-tsz, who lived two centuries before Chwang-tsz; but even if he did, he admits that Confucius knew Lao-tsz, and that Lao-tsz's actual book was in the Empress's hands in 139 B.C. Yet by the suspicious device of omitting the italicized words, it has been pretended that Ts'ui Hao denied the authorship of Lao-tsz, and that the *Tao-têh* King was forged after the Christian era out of materials found in Chwang-tsz, Han Fei, and Hwai-nan-tsz. Moreover, in the same chapter on Ts'ui Hao (but at least a dozen pages further on), in speaking of Ts'ui Hao's calendar, the historian states that "since the founding of the Han dynasty in 200 B.C. up to now, more than ten authors have fabricated spurious calendar systems." By transferring this statement about the fabrication of books on the calendar to the passage on Taoism just cited, and by concealing the fact that the fabrication in question referred solely to calendars, the same untrustworthy special pleading is employed to try and prove on second grounds that the *Tao-têh* King was really and officially stated to have been fabricated at some later date.

The destruction of literature by the first Emperor in 213 B.C. is by no means the only instance in which Chinese records have been destroyed. The collection so painfully made by Liu Ngan, Liu Hien, Liu Hiang, and Liu Hin, was utterly annihilated at the burning of the capital\* by rebels in A.D. 23, when Liu Hin himself committed suicide. The second Han dynasty moved the imperial capital to Loh-yang, where it was when Ts'in had conquered the whole empire. This place was similarly destroyed by rebels about A.D. 190; 2,000 carts full of books perished in the flames. After this China was split up for four centuries. During the fifth century, when Ts'ui Hao was serving the Tartars, the southern dynasty of Ts'i (at modern Nanking)

\* Ch'ang-an (Si-an Fu). The founder, Liu Pang, did not consider himself worthy enough to make Loh-yang his capital in 203 B.C.

lost 90,000 rolls of literature in a palace conflagration. During the Sui dynasty, a century later, several hundred thousand rolls were lost by shipwreck whilst being removed in boats. Nearly 200 years later, again, 80,000 rolls perished at the sacking of the capital\* by the Turkish rebel Anlushan; and once more, in A.D. 880, twelve warehouses full of books were lost at the destruction of the same capital by the rebel Hwang Ch'ao. But, of course, in a vast country like China it was always possible for patient collectors to do what is now being done again by Shanghai printers--to search for, pay well for, and reprint old books.

\* Ch'ang-an once more.

## THERAPEUTICS OF CLIMATE.

BY GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

THE Therapeutics of Climate are thoroughly examined by Dr. W. R. Huggard,\* who has taken considerable pains in giving a detailed account of the chemistry of the air with the addition of the recent elements, argon, neon, krypton, and xenon, and the component parts of the air are, as a rule—with slight variations—everywhere the same. The old elements of oxygen and nitrogen head the list, and the new element of argon with carbonic acid at a great distance follow, and the percentage of each by weight and volume are together : oxygen, 44.18 ; nitrogen, 53.50 ; argon, 2.24 ; carbonic acid, 0.08. Other constituents are present in the shape of watery vapours, ozone, and peroxide of hydrogen, with other volatile impurities arising from the earth as micro-organisms, etc. The earth with the air is simply a large laboratory working with chemical affinities that keep the air in normal proportions—the winds and the diffusion of gases acting as a fan to keep it in motion.

The temperature of the air is dependent on the sun, which, when placed perpendicularly, gives the greatest heat-supply. A great many natural agencies are at work in increasing or lowering or modifying the sun's heat : the length of time the sun shines over a place, moisture in the air, the temperature of the Gulf Stream are great products in producing warmth. When the heat of the sun is taken away, radiation makes the ground cool. The wind, also, from the north and south poles produces cold weather in the places nearest to them. The humidity of the air is by itself an essential part, quite distinct from rain or clouds, etc., and resembles a gas by its power of expansion, etc., and easily

\* "A Handbook of Climatic Treatment, including Balneology," by William R. Huggard, M.A., M.D., etc. London : Macmillan and Co., Limited ; New York : The Macmillan Company, 1905.

becomes liquid according to heat or cold. Other principles affecting climate are clouds, fog, dew, and rain.

It will surprise many to know that a full-grown man supports a weight of air equal to between 12 and 14 tons, and the pressure of the air at sea-level gives 15 lbs. to the square inch, the total superficial area of the body giving its weight between 12 and 14 tons. Tables are given showing the weight of dry and moist air, also the difference of pressure at different heights, etc., and the influence winds have on the earth's surface.

With regard to electricity, it is stated that the air is, as a rule, positively electrified and the earth negatively, and it is at its maximum in winter and its minimum in summer, and the effects which the alteration of the climate on the earth's surface produce are carefully detailed.

In Part II. the physiology (and pathology?) of climate is discussed. The production of heat in the human body and the conservation of energy are touched upon, the constant renewal of the air over the earth, the use of oxygen to the animal economy, the safe use of nitrogen for workers under water, and other agents affecting the composition and purity of the air, are mentioned.

A very important chapter on the influence of temperature on metabolism is given, heat being the agency at work: the oxidation of the tissues is the chief agent in producing it, and the unit of heat is equal to 1 gramme of water raised to 1 degree Centigrade and is called a caloric. One thousand five hundred calorics are produced in a child in twenty-four hours, and about 3,000 in an active man, and if the heat were not dispersed as soon as it is formed, a speedy death would be the result. The liver supplies the warmest blood next to that in the brain. Oxygen is the chief factor in renewing the tissues and keeping the organism in health; the other aerial agents are of little use. Many interesting experiments are mentioned giving the rise and fall of temperature owing to life in a warm climate or cold one, with the results following, and the optimum of temperature

in man is stated by Dr. Ranke to be from 59° to 68° F. The effects of great heat and cold are detailed with many interesting experiments relating to the disastrous effects of a very high or low temperature affecting all the organs of the body and their functions.

The influence of atmospheric humidity is analyzed and its effects on the body carefully noted. With active exercise the body gets hot and perspiration sets in, and if care be not taken a chill may arise ending in an attack of rheumatism of different forms. A table is given showing the results of excretion of water from the body during different conditions in fasting and rest, diet and work, and its influence on the lungs, digestive and nervous system, etc. A chapter on the influence of the pressure of the air gives an account of the first barometer showing the air had weight in 1643; in 1783 balloons were invented, and in 1839 Triger's apparatus allowed men to work under water by means of compressed air. In 1861 Dr. Jourdanet, a French physician practising in Mexico, published an account of the country and of the diseases to which its inhabitants were liable. He thought that the inhabitants of the mountain suffered from an insufficiency of oxygen, which lowered the quantity necessary for the red-blood corpuscles. Many observations are given according to the effect of the pressure of the air, with reference to the lungs, the heart, and its effect on diseases of the lungs and digestive organs and nervous system, and on the skin giving rise to surface anemia.

The influence of light on vegetable and animal life is next examined. Special rays of the spectrum producing different effects and its marvellous success in the treatment of lupus has introduced a new and most valuable agent in the cure of this terrible malady. The Jewish and gipsy races are said to be least affected by change of climate.

Part III. has reference to climates and health resorts. The equator is stated to be the starting-point of classification of climates, and they are divided into: (1) Tropical;

(2) Sub-tropical; (3) Temperate; (4) Cold; (5) Arctic. Climates range from tropical to arctic; two submarine, bordering the sea; three inland (*a.* lowland; *b.* medium altitude; *c.* high altitude). These five groups are classified according to the temperature given by the thermometer and the effect heat or cold has on the body, producing tissue change. Hot climates give a temperature under Group 1 of 71·6° F. and over; Group 2, 60·8° to 71·6° F.; Group 3, 48·2° to 60·8° F.; Group 4, 33·8° to 48·2° F.; Group 5, under 33·8° F.

Various select towns are mentioned, giving instances applicable to each group, with alterations referring to different periods of the year. The twenty-three chapters on health resorts, taking up 118 pages of the whole book, must be considered the most valuable and useful of all its contents from the physician's and patient's point of view. Commencing with Egypt the author gives a detailed account of the various health resorts likely to be of value in alleviating, strengthening, or restoring the shattered frame of the invalid in pursuit of the restoration of his health. The chief difficulty in selecting a suitable climate will be the large choice which the author places before the expectant recuperant, though this may be met in some measure by the advice of his own physician and friends, who may have visited the most likely resorts, and most of all by carefully reading the last chapter in the book, which gives a short recapitulation of the essential points to be considered before the journey is undertaken.

Chapter XIX. refers solely to the British Isles, and is the most interesting of the whole book, and is well worthy of careful perusal. The author states that "In physiological action as in temperature the climate of the British Isles lies midway between the warm and the cold climates. For the healthy active race that occupies these islands probably no other type of climate on the face of the earth would be more suitable. The heat, even in summer, is seldom oppressive in comparison with the summer of Southern Europe; nor

is the climate during winter so intense as to blunt or paralyze the activity of the nervous system. The great heat of tropical countries and the severe cold of the arctic winter both alike are apt to have a depressing or enervating effect. The climate of the British Isles, while not without blemishes of its own, is at least free from these drawbacks. The cloud-covered skies, the frequent rains, and the high relative humidity of the atmosphere tend, perhaps, to produce a sober or gloomy state of mind as contrasted with the light-heartedness of southern nations. The mental reserve of the English and of the Scotch must not, however, be put down wholly to climate. Ireland has a climate not less humid than has England, but her inhabitants vie with the southern nations in lightness and brightness of spirits. The health of the British Isles compares favourably with that of other European countries except Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The mortality of the United Kingdom for 1896 was 17·1, as compared with 18·4 for Switzerland, 20·2 for France, 20·8 for Germany, and 24·2 for Italy. This lower mortality in the United Kingdom can, however, hardly be ascribed entirely or chiefly to climate. The main cause of the greater healthfulness of the British Isles is the greater attention paid to sanitary and hygienic arrangements. The death-rate in England and Wales from tubercular disease has diminished enormously in several European countries, but especially in England. The mortality from phthisis in England in 1896 was 1307 per million living—little more than half what it was forty years ago, and much less than in any Continental country to-day. Typhoid fever has diminished in like manner. Other diseases have not been so favourable. In 1896 the deaths from rheumatism and rheumatism of the heart were, for England, 115; for Russia, 54; for Italy, 50; and for Switzerland, 26 per million.' Whether the climate or the soil or excess of animal food or some pathogenic organism in the air may be to blame for this great difference, we must leave the physiologist and pathologist to find out.

Part IV.—baths and mineral waters—takes 113 pages, and mineral water is defined as applicable to any water that differs from ordinary drinking water. Since helium and radium have been discovered in Bath and other springs, baths containing these elements may be improved, but as yet the author states there is no proof. Common water contains 59 to 68 per cent. of the body and may be regarded as food, and a list is given of the different kinds of potable therapeutic waters, and their different properties in European health resorts are given. Other waters are mentioned with their special peculiar ingredients.

Part V. includes therapeutics of climate and mineral waters, occupying ninety-one pages, which brings to a close this large and well-written volume full of research and information; and this last part is of especial value in calling attention to certain chronic, troublesome, and dangerous disorders, which, according to the author, have the best means of cure by climatic change and treatment by mineral waters. Such diseases are obesity, anæmia, gout, rheumatism, rickets, tuberculosis, etc., and according to his opinion, though the diseases mentioned may not be successfully overcome in every case, yet "when the remedies can be employed, a satisfactory result is more readily, more agreeably, and more surely obtained than by the usual methods of home treatment."

With regard to the ocean as a health resort, the author gives a too favourable view of the life of the invalid on board ship. At the beginning of the voyage it is all a chance if he gets a good berth; he may be cabined, cribbed, confined in a small wooden cupboard with four or five other passengers whose ages may be from fourteen to eighty. His berth may give him many companions in the shape of cockroaches or an occasional rat; or his lot may be cast in a cabin near the cook-room, where the heat from the cooking apparatus will raise the temperature of his berth to 90° or more. During the night, if he be of a nervous temperament, he will lie awake from the snoring or grunting



or groaning of his fellow-passengers—moreover, his own breath with the exhalations of his comrades cannot be advantageous for the healthy or sick.

The allocation of berths ought to be more carefully attended to, and the doctor on board the vessel should have the power of preventing the mixing of the invalids with the robust, as it is quite absurd to think that a steward or purser can have the nous or discretion with or without seeing the sick passenger to put him in a suitable cabin to aid his recovery to health.

It is impossible to prevent feeling some regret that these foreign health resorts and means of cure by them are entirely out of the reach of the poorer classes, though to some extent hydropathic and other kindred sanatoria with modern appliances for prevention and cure are increasing in number within the three countries, and many are doing excellent work. In finishing this sketch of the labours of the author, he is to be congratulated as having produced the best book up to date that has yet been written on this subject, with a fulness of detail as to the means of cure and procedure in attaining that end, citing the views of the best authorities, ancient and modern, on the subject, and last, but not least, giving at the end an excellent and copious index most useful to the reader.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, July 2, 1906, a paper was read by S. S. Thorburn, Esq., I.C.S. (Retired), late Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, on "An Indian Militia for India's Defence."\* Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Lieutenant-General Sir Alexander Badcock, K.C.B., C.S.I., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Lesley Probyn, Surgeon-General Maunsell, C.B., Hon. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Colonel Kemball, C.I.E., Major Murray, Mrs. Thorburn, Mrs. Glass, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. Arathoon, Miss Delaney, Miss K. Delaney, Mr. F. H. Skrine, J.P., Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. C. W. McMinn, Sardar Arjan Singh, Mr. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S., Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Arthur Sawtell, Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. Krishna Kawal, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Mr. Shakir Ali, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. Mahomed Din, Mr. Ernest Herwitz, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Dr. Bhabha, Mr. K. A. Bhojwain, Mr. Theodore Morison, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The paper was then read.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: Ladies and gentlemen, the few observations which, as chairman, I feel it incumbent on me to make will not detain you long, and I speak first instead of last because I wish to suggest that, as this is an exceedingly delicate question, the discussion should be, as far as possible, confined to the lines which our lecturer's exceedingly able paper has laid down.

Speaking for the East India Association, I do not know any subject which is more appropriate than the one which has been selected by Mr. Thorburn, and I am exceedingly glad to see that we have present so many persons of leading and intelligence to listen to this most interesting paper. I have always been in sympathy with the view which Mr. Thorburn has expressed, and on many occasions, both in writing and at the Central Asian Society, I have advocated some action on the lines which he has here suggested. The notes which I have taken as I have listened to the paper are to this effect: Is there any other real solution of this ever-present danger and difficulty to England and India than the one suggested by the paper? All I can say is, if there be such a solution it has never been brought to my notice. I do not doubt that the action of England would be far more effective, and on a far larger scale, than Mr. Thorburn has thought it safe here to estimate. In the case of any vital emergency I have not the least doubt that England and her colonies would together

\* See this paper in our last (July) issue.

place in India quite as large an army as was placed in South Africa during the Boer War. That we may accept as a matter of course ; but it would be an operation of enormous expense, and would denude England and her possessions of their proper and normal defence. The proposals which Lord Roberts has laid before the country are excellent, and so far as they deal with the instruction of the youth of England in the use of arms, may be carried out ; but more than this I do not think Lord Roberts will be able to effect in England. He is, and will remain, *vox clamantis in deserto*—a voice of one crying in the wilderness. The English people, with their long traditions of independence, will never approve of conscription, and they will not take upon themselves the burden of any form of military service unless they are compelled to do so under lessons so severe and pressure so deadly that we may thank Heaven that we have escaped them so far.

Then with regard to the question which has been alluded to by our lecturer of the Japanese alliance, I am sure all those who are as well acquainted with India as are most of the English and Indian gentlemen present in this room, will agree that it may be absolutely put aside. (Hear, hear.) Our influence and our prestige in India would be absolutely ruined if we were to look for one moment to Japan for any assistance in India itself against external enemies. (Hear, hear.) No one is more enamoured than myself of the Japanese alliance, and no one has a higher estimation of that fine people ; but we do not want them in India. To bring them for military purposes of defence to India would be a far greater danger than any possible advantage their presence there could give us. Let that be thoroughly understood by the English people. If they think that they are leaning upon the Japanese alliance to defend India, let me tell them in the name of all those here in this room that they are leaning upon a broken reed which will pierce their hand. (Hear, hear.)

The paper has dealt, in no unfriendly way, with the Russian question ; and I, who have never in my life been a Russophobist, would desire to speak of it in an equally impersonal and friendly manner. Russia has advanced in Asia, as we have advanced, very much by the pressure of circumstances, and without, let us say, any malice of intention. If it be so, we need not regard it. But Russia is not the only country which in the future—not to-day, but ten years hence, or a quarter of a century hence—we may have cause to look upon with anxiety. For myself, I consider that the danger to England in the East is far greater from Germany than it is from Russia. I think Russian projects against India are very much in the air. I think that German ambitions in the Persian Gulf, in Turkey, on the Baghdad Railway are very pressing and very living things, and that we shall see a great development in them in the course of the next few years. However, these questions are by the way. The question which the lecturer specially dealt with was this, and I would merely give my opinion regarding it by saying that the axiom by which we must determine it is this : India must be defended in India itself, and by Indians (Hear, hear) ; and secondly, I would say, as another axiom, that we must so govern India that the people may trust us, and that we show we have trust and con-

fidence in the people. That is an axiom without understanding which and applying which we can never successfully hold India, and we can never govern it with satisfaction to ourselves or to the Indian people.

Then another point I have noted is this: We who have lived in the Punjab—and there are many Punjabis present—know (and I am sure I have said it a hundred times in articles and on platforms) that the people of the Punjab as soldiers are equal to any troops in the world. I am certain of this. I have served with them in the field; I have served with them in cantonments; they have been my escort in all sorts of difficult places; and no one has a higher estimation of them or, as a civilian, I think I may say, a greater knowledge of them than I have myself. They are the equals of any troops, whether they be Russians or whether they be Japanese. I look upon the Punjabis, the Sikhs, the Rajputs, and the Ghoorkas as holding as high a place in the fighting races of the world as any people—either European or Asiatic—who are fighting as soldiers to-day. With regard to confidence in the people of India, much has already been done, and many steps have been taken, I think, in the right direction. We in the Punjab were the first to employ—with, of course, the consent of the Imperial Government—native troops in the first Afghan campaign, and the contingents from our Punjab native states—Pattiala, Nabha, Jhind, Kapurthara, Bahawalpur, Faridkot, and others—served with distinction in both Afghan wars.

There are many difficulties in the scheme which the lecturer has proposed; but you know with people of great intelligence difficulties are only made to be overcome; and I do not believe that if you start on the bed-rock of confidence and trust in the people of India there are any difficulties which cannot be easily overcome. That is the foundation of the whole scheme. If you do not trust the people of India, if you do not believe, as I fully believe, in their loyalty to the King, the Emperor of India, however much they may choose to criticise the local government of India, then this scheme is only fit for the waste-paper basket. I know that loyalty to the King-Emperor does exist; that the people, and especially the peasantry, of India feel it very largely; and on this subject I would refer you to a most clever and interesting work which I was reading only last night, by a gentleman whom I had the honour to bring to and introduce to India many years ago—Mr. Theodore Morison; and you will see fully the direction in which his ideas coincide on this point with my own. That is all I wish now to say. There is no immediate danger to India, nor may there be for many years to come; but I do think this: that if we realize, and if the authorities realize, and act generally on their knowledge, the heart-loyalty of the great mass of the people of India to the King, at any rate; and if they utilize, as they may very profitably utilize, the enormous latent resources of the fighting military races of India, then I am certain that India will be for all time secure against attack by any European Power, whatever that Power may be. (Applause.)

MR. FRANCIS H. SKRINE expressed some surprise that a colleague of Mr. Thorburn's reputation, who had made a special study of Indian warfare, should remain under the obsession of the Russian invasion bogey.

That phantom had twice involved Great Britain in costly and unprofitable wars, and had as often brought us to the verge of hostilities with a Power which ought to be her fellow-worker in the task of civilizing Asia. Russia's instinctive craving for ice-free ports had pushed her towards the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, and the Pacific Ocean. Everywhere she had found escape from an impossible position blocked by English jealousy. Her statesmen, therefore, sought for a point of contact with British Indian spheres of influence in view of applying counter-irritation should this dog-in-the-manger policy be persisted in. This motive was at the bottom of Russia's steady advance towards the North-West Frontier. But there was an immense difference between fomenting unrest in that borderland and undertaking an invasion of Indian soil. Mr. Thorburn had ably stated the physical difficulties attending such an enterprise. But in the event of success, Russia would have to face the problem of governing three hundred millions of Asiatics, whose ignorance of Malthusian doctrines had placed them within the grip of pestilence and famine. On what resources could she draw for providing the vast mechanism of Indian administration? She had no overgrown middle class which needed an outlet for redundant energies, and her domestic affairs would keep her fully occupied for many years to come. The speaker adjured his hearers to banish panic fear from their minds, and not to "cross the bridge before reaching the banks of the river." The surest bulwark of British India was not a numerous army, but a loyal and contented people.

Moreover, many elements making for future discord existed beneath the apparently placid surface of the empire. There was the rapid growth of an educated class. Many thousands of Indians believed that the highly anomalous conditions evolved from eighteenth-century anarchy could not long endure, and that a community welded together by common language, culture, and ideals, was already fit for self-government. In a generation or so these thousands would become millions, no longer inarticulate. Islam was in a state of suppressed volcanic energy from Morocco to the Celebes; Wahabi-ism was raising its head in Eastern Bengal and Arabia; the Marathas of Central and Southern India were highly organized; the hordes of religious mendicants were hostile to our rule. The speaker believed that to arm and discipline a horde of peasants would involve a repetition of the blunder perpetrated by the British Ministry in 1781. The Irish Volunteer movement of that year brought England to her knees, and forced her to concede complete autonomy under Protestant ascendancy. This ill-timed measure produced the horrors of 1798, and a union which was destructive of mutual confidence and goodwill.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that a popular force, on the lines so ably laid down by Mr. Thorburn, would be an admirable source of supply for the regular army. Marshal Saxe's victories during the war of the Austrian Succession were largely due to his militia. The English, on the other hand, had allowed their ancient constitutional force to become obsolete, and were compelled to fall back on foreign mercenaries. Under existing circumstances, however, a provincial militia in India must

be on a very restricted scale, and be closely linked with local battalions of the regular army.

COLONEL KEMBALL was afraid he could not offer any useful opinion on the subject of the paper as he was not an officer of the Indian army; but he thought the view put forward by Mr. Thorburn was extremely interesting. No one who had not actually served with Indian troops and taken part in their training could say whether such a scheme could be worked in the way proposed. Whether Indian peasants could after a few months' training be made into a useful force was a matter as to which he personally was incapable of judging; but he should like to hear an officer of the Indian army speak upon it.

COLONEL C. E. YATE: I cordially endorse the proposal made by the lecturer for the raising of a Militia force for Indian defence. What has been said about the fighting qualities of the Punjabis applies equally to the Frontier tribesmen with whom I have been more directly in touch of late years, and I have long been an advocate of giving increased service to these tribesmen. What we in Baluchistan call Levy Corps Service is, practically speaking, the same as the militia service proposed by the lecturer. In Baluchistan we have two levy corps—one in the north, composed principally of Pathans, known as the Zhob Levy Corps, and one in the south, composed of Brahuis and Baluchis of Kalat, known as the Mekran Levy Corps. These corps are practically militia, the only difference being that they are embodied all the year round, while an ordinary militia regiment is embodied only for a short time in the year. This latter system has been followed to a certain extent in the Transport Camel Corps raised of late years in Baluchistan, where each troop, both men and camels, serve only for a portion of the year, and spend the remainder of the year at their homes. The militia system of simply embodying the men for a short period at the slack time of the year would answer admirably amongst the Frontier tribesmen, who object in peace time to serve for any lengthy period far away from their homes. There is a grand reserve of good men in Baluchistan, with whom local militia service would be highly popular, and who, if enlisted and trained, would form a valuable and trustworthy reserve in time of war. The army in India cannot possibly be decreased, and, in fact, it ought to be increased, but we have not the money to increase it largely without undue strain on the resources of the country.

I am of opinion, therefore, that the Indian army should be largely supplemented by militia corps such as those proposed by the lecturer, and these corps should be raised wherever the local conditions and people offer a good ground for such recruitment. Baluchistan is one of those grounds, and doubtless many other suitable grounds would soon be found when once the system had been started. The Punjab Frontier force was practically a permanently embodied militia force when first raised, and what a grand service that force proved itself to be. A Militia force now raised similarly under the civil power, but only to be embodied for a small part of the year, ought to prove a similar success.

The difficulty regarding British officers has been touched upon by the

lecturer, and doubtless a small number of British officers, such as a commandant and an adjutant, are a necessity to start each regiment, but even this difficulty and expense may be solved in time. Let us remember what grand service has been done for us by native officers in olden days, and what is now being done again. Look what the commandants of the Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bikanir, and other Imperial service troops have done for us in China, on the frontier, and in Somaliland. Look what that grand old soldier Sirdar Muhammad Aslam Khan did as commandant of the Khaibar Rifles, and what a reserve of young men we are now training up in the Imperial Cadet Corps. We want an outlet for all these young men, and the proposed militia supplies the very thing. The day has come when we must provide a military career for the ambitions and the military talent that we undoubtedly have at our disposal in India and which, if given the required career will, I believe, prove itself as loyal and courageous as any in the world.

To fight for the Empire is the ambition of all Indian soldiers, and I welcome anything that gives them the chance of doing so. I welcomed Lord Curzon's Imperial Cadet Corps scheme as the first step in the right direction, and I look to see that scheme slowly but surely largely developed. I hope the day is not far distant when I shall see the young Baluch chiefs, for instance, properly educated and capable of taking their place in the ranks of the Empire's defenders, each chief or scion of a chief commanding the regiment or company of his own particular tribesmen. A few British officers will doubtless be required as organizers, but beyond that I look to no great expense under that head; and I see no reason why the proposed militia organization should not eventually be developed something on the lines of the present Imperial Service Corps—that is to say, with Indian sirdars and gentlemen of good family as commandants and officers, and the British officers limited more or less to inspecting officers as in the case of native states' troops. Such militia corps must naturally remain a local and territorial force solely under the orders of the civil power; each corps, in fact, under its own local government, as in the case of native states, but still liable to be called out for military service in any part of the world in case of war.

A great advantage of this militia service on the frontier will be to bind the frontier tribesmen more closely to us. On the frontier we must remember that every man who is not with us is against us. If a man pays revenue or performs service he acknowledges himself with us, but if he does neither he is a free lance who is against us. He owes no allegiance to us and gives none. Militia service will be the one thing therefore to draw the frontier tribesmen more fully into allegiance, and that allegiance we can reckon upon in all ordinary circumstances. Nothing but some extraordinary upheaval, as in 1897, is likely to upset it, and when we trusted the heir to the throne to the guardianship of the Khaibar Rifles, we proved that our trust and confidence in that corps was not shaken despite the tragedy of 1897.

Whether it will be possible to affiliate these militia battalions to Indian regiments of the line as the militia battalions in England are affiliated to

their regular territorial regiments is a question for future consideration. I am in favour of local and territorial regiments myself, and I hope to see the Indian army more localized in future than it is at present. Meanwhile, I wish all success to the proposed Indian Militia for India's defence. There can be no doubt whatever that India at present is not properly insured, and that we must have more men, and a militia system seems to promise the best and cheapest way of getting those men.

MR. YUSUF ALI said the subject was one of extreme interest. After the speeches of experts on the subject it would ill become him to trust his own opinion, but he should like to call attention to the fact that there was already a precedent for the proposal, apart from the one pointed out by Colonel Yate as regards the frontier levy corps. In Bombay and Poonah the Parsees were, under certain conditions, allowed to raise volunteer corps for themselves. That to a certain extent supplemented the statement in the lecture that Christianity and European descent were necessary for enlistment in the volunteers. Those volunteer corps had been a success, so that in trying the experiment, if other conditions were found to be favourable, it could not be said they would be acting without any precedent. As to the larger question whether it would be practicable, and whether it would add to the defensive force of the Empire, he could not attempt to speak. As to Mr. Skrine's reference to the volcanic state of Islam and the Wahabi movement, as far as he was able to judge the Wahabi movement as a political factor was absolutely dead in India. Mr. Luigi Villari was recognised as an authority on the political questions of the border lands of Europe and Asia, and in discussing the riots in Baku and the Tartar and Armenian disputes which had taken place last year, and might occur again, he had recorded it as his deliberate opinion that anything in the nature of a pan-Islamic movement to combine the political forces that existed in Mussulman countries was absolutely nonexistent; and he thought he would be right in saying that, if anything, the Mussulmans further East than India were even in a less favourable position to dream of political designs. So that anything like a volcanic state of Islam, as far as it referred to the world's politics, only existed in the imagination of those who constantly pictured Islam as opposed either to Christianity or to Christian powers. Islam as a religion was not antagonistic to Christianity, and Islam as a political force was quite well able to exist and exert its influence without in any way disturbing the *status quo*. In conclusion he desired to thank the lecturer for the valuable contribution he had made to the study of a question which bristled with difficulties, and which might possibly lead to a successful experiment by the Government of India.

MR. CHARLES W. MCMINN said he agreed generally with the statements made by the lecturer. During his forty-five year's residence in India he had noticed that the Government were far too chary about making experiments. He thought that that attitude probably proceeded from the theory that the Government could do no wrong, and therefore they would not try experiments unless perfectly certain they would succeed. Mr. Thorburn had said that the basis of our rule in India must be not only justice,



but the power to enforce order ; and that we could no longer rule India as masters, and therefore it would be a very proper course indeed to associate the men of India with ourselves in a scheme of frontier defence. Everything said by Mr. Thorburn on that point was extremely wise ; but in the last part of his paper he appeared to expect that a very large proportion of British officers would be required for the militia, although at first only two per regiment would be required. He (Mr. Mc Minn) did not think that many native gentlemen were aware how often, from the days of Lord Hastings down to the time of Lord Curzon, the Governors-General had been willing and anxious to make the experiment of allowing the gentlemen of India larger scope in receiving commissions in the army. It was a very difficult question, no doubt, but they found men like the Marquis of Hastings, Sir Henry Lawrence, Lord Lytton, and Lord Curzon, strongly of opinion that the natives of India should be allowed a much higher place in the military service of the country than they had hitherto held. No two men could differ more widely in character, experience, and careers than Henry Lawrence and Lord Lytton, yet in this matter they agreed. (Hear, hear.) He had personally studied the subject for many years, and had discussed it with military men, and they had always said, "You cannot trust the native leaders by themselves." He would only mention one famous Mussulman, Mahommed Yusuf, one of the finest soldiers who ever fought in India. Unfortunately he fell on evil days, and was ultimately blown from a gun ; but, at the same time, he was a man who for many years was in command of large bodies of native soldiers, and on many occasions he had Europeans under him, and always distinguished himself. When they were saying they were going to trust the people of India, he thought they ought to trust not only the peasants, as militia, but also the native gentlemen, noblemen, and princes ; and they ought to treat them not only as subjects, but as comrades on the field, as Colonel Younghusband had said a short time ago. It was a very grave thing that where the Civil Service had been thrown open to the natives, where they found a native Chief Justice sitting in Bengal, that there was not one single native military officer in India drawing more than 350 rupees a year. Surely that was a subject that should be dealt with ; surely the nobility of India should be able to fight for their country, to have for their motto *pro aris et focis*. Therefore, the only hostile criticism he had to make about the paper was that, when Mr. Thorburn said the militia should be officered largely by British officers, he (Mr. Mc Minn) thought that they should be officered largely by native gentlemen.

MR. MARTIN WOOD queried how the term "militia" could be applied to Indian conditions. Besides, in our native Indian armies have we not, with their practical system of reserves and pensioners, almost all that is needed? He thought that we already had as large a number of Indian soldiers as could be utilized ; and that, instead of seeking to increase the number of men under arms, it would be far more important and desirable, in the present state of India, to try and increase the number of artisans and men of that character. Already the managers of our great Indian railways find difficulty in getting men for their locomotive and

other workshops. Though this militia argument was the chief object of the paper, the larger portion was occupied, as leading up to it, with a wider and different subject—namely, the old speculative question, “Can the Muscovites make any impression on our present impregnable frontier?” In my opinion, certainly not—unless we pursue recent policy in locating many of our outposts and forces outside that safe barrier, as Mr. Thorburn seems partly to advocate. In the former part of this essay, which is skilfully framed and well written, the survey of trans-frontier policy, since the making of the Second Afghan War—ending with the words “for many years to come, impotent for serious aggression”—is a useful historical summary, though it contains one erroneous statement—namely, that the Amir Shere Ali in 1877 was “negotiating a treaty” with a Russian envoy at Kabul. Mr. Thorburn’s argument in this large portion of the paper is so full and frank that it might be confuted by citations from the writer’s own admissions in the course of it. And the tone and trend of its few exaggerations render it a timely contrast with recent feverish ebullitions by insatiable advocates of the Forward Policy—including Lord Kitchener’s own scant references to it in the course of his despatches in the Blue-Book last year, when the immediate object to be served was that of restricting or destroying the civil autonomy of the Indian Government. Here, one general remark: Why should alarmist writers take such pains to invite or encourage Russian schemers by trying to make out how easily their supposed designs might be carried out?

The CHAIRMAN said that when in his opening remarks he had spoken with approbation of Mr. Morison’s book, he was not aware that Mr. Morison was present, but he was glad to have been able to bear testimony to a book which everyone who loved India should read. Mr. Morison for a long time was the head of the great native college at Alighar, and he had there gained a knowledge of the upper classes of India from an educational point of view which probably was unsurpassed by that of any other Englishman in India to-day, and he should therefore be pleased if Mr. Morison would favour them with a few observations.

MR. THEODORE MORISON said he wished to associate himself with what Mr. McMinn had said. It seemed to him that the crux of this question and the point from which it would be considered by almost all educated Indians, would be the question of the officers. It seemed to him that a militia was successful only so far as it was supported by the opinion of the country. A militia was, more than any other force, the expression of the wishes of the inhabitants to defend their own country. That was the sense in which the militia, which now, unfortunately, had been allowed to drop, existed in England. They would remember that Parliament in the old days was always inclined to regard the militia as the constitutional defence of the country, and the standing army as that which the King desired to keep up for his own ends. He thought it was most unfortunate that we looked now upon the standing army in England as the true English defence. To be successful the militia of a country must represent the feeling of a country. It should not be in any sense a mercenary force, but the expression of the wishes of the people to defend themselves. Unless

the force were so constituted that the leading men in the country had an honourable position in it, he did not believe the militia would be worth anything. It would not have the sentimental or patriotic feeling, without which a militia would not be a success. The reception that would be given to Mr. Thorburn's paper by the Indian public would be dependent very much on the consideration of that particular point where he suggested that this force was to be officered by a very small number, but still officered by Englishmen, and that the condition of things which existed in the regular army would be continued. The subject, he agreed, was a very difficult one, but as the lecturer had introduced it, he must say that was the central point around which controversy would rage.

MR. ARTHUR SAWTELL thought they were all agreed as to the desirability of adopting some such scheme as that embodied in Mr. Thorburn's proposal, and it was a pity that in discussing that and similar questions there was a tendency to drag in catch phrases, such as "the bogey of Russian invasion," because such expressions did not enable them to get any further in the consideration of the question. The question of an invasion by Russia was not the question at all. The question was, Whether Russia could do us any harm by assuming such a position outside India that she would be able to threaten our prestige and disturb the balance of power in the Middle East? He had paid some attention to the question of our defences in India, and he thought the balance of opinion was against the comfortable idea that we could sit down on our side of the Indus, "the world forgetting, by the world forgot." The question of Russian invasion was not the question, but whether Russia would not, if she had the opportunity, disturb our equilibrium and disturb the equanimity of the Indian people by creating a new equilibrium outside India? That was the practical question on which the proposal of Mr. Thorburn had a most important bearing. It was quite evident that something must be done, as the present numerical state of our forces in India was utterly inadequate for contingencies that might very well arise. (Applause.)

MR. T. H. THORNTON, C.S.I.: Having been for some twelve years Secretary to the Punjab Government, and consequently knowing something of the Punjab Frontier and its administration, I do not like the discussion to end without saying a few words. Let me say, then, that I agree generally with the views expressed by the writer of the paper, and my friend, Sir L. Griffin, in regard to the question before us—that is to say, whether it is desirable that our military strength on the frontier should be supplemented by a militia raised from the martial tribes of the locality. For the reasons stated it seems very desirable, both from a military and political point of view, and there can be no doubt that the measure would be popular with the tribes concerned. Let me add that the idea is not a novel one. Years ago there was a frontier militia in connection with the late Punjab Frontier Force—what has become of it now I don't know—and as Colonel Yate has reminded us, local levies—thanks to the late Sir R. Sandeman—play an important part in maintaining peace in Baluchistan. With regard to the remarks of Mr. Morison, I presume that it is intended that the bulk of the officers should be local chiefs—only

a few being Englishmen. It would be interesting to hear the opinion of military experts on the subject of the paper—that is, of military experts, with knowledge of the frontier and its races, and acquainted with army administration. Meanwhile, Mr. Thorburn has done good service in bringing forward this question, and deserves our hearty thanks for his able and useful paper. I forbear touching upon the controversial questions which have been raised during the discussion.

Mr. THORBURN, in replying on the discussion, said he had been pleased to hear that the privilege of raising a volunteer corps had been extended to the Parsees. He thought he had been a little misunderstood with regard to the number of reinforcements that could be sent from this country to India in case of an emergency. He had carefully restricted himself to "foreign service troops," and he did not think we could send more than 40,000 to 50,000 of them; but, of course, the Colonies and the militia would help enormously.

With regard to the question of British officers, he had submitted a rough draft of the paper to several distinguished military men now at home who had served in India, and they all stated that for the success of the scheme the crux lay in the question of the British officers. His own idea was, when he wrote the paper, and still was, that each regiment would require a British commandant and a British adjutant, and that a native regiment entirely officered by Indians would not be as efficient as a similar regiment with two or more British officers in it.

For the last twenty years ways and means for increasing the number of British officers in native regiments during actual service had been under discussion. The present number was five or six; but experience in the field showed it ought to be ten or twelve. Whenever a native regiment went on service the casualties amongst the British officers were in a far higher proportion than amongst the men or amongst the Indian non-commissioned and commissioned officers. He had simply added the paragraph about British officers conformably to the wishes of the men whom he had consulted in this country. He believed that for training purposes two British officers per battalion would be sufficient, and that as each would be called out from four to six weeks in the cold weather, and the cold weather lasted about three and a half months, those two officers could serve two or three battalions; hence in peace time the expense would not be great. He further believed that Indian troops preferred to be led by a few British officers rather than be entirely officered by their compatriots.

On the motion of the Chairman a vote of thanks to Mr. Thorburn for his paper was unanimously carried, and the proceedings then terminated.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting of the Association held at Caxton Hall on Wednesday, July 11, 1906, a paper was read by the Hon. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., on "Self-Government for India," the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., presiding in the chair. There were present amongst others : Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir Charles Elliot, K.C.S.I., Mr. Justice Budrudin Tyabji, Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., Dr. V. H. Rutherford, M.P., Mr. and Mrs. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. Theodore Morison, Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. Wintle, R.A., Mr. F. H. Skrine, J.P., Mr. Charles McMinn, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. S. Digby, Mr. C. W. Whish, Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. C. J. Bond, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. A. H. Wilson, Mr. Coldstream, Shyamji Krishnavarma, Mr. Arthur Sawtell, Mr. W. K. Bonnerjee, Mr. Donald Reid, Major Hasan Bilgrami, Dr. S. D. Bhabha, Lieutenant-Colonel T. W. Wright, Mr. Shakir Ali, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. Ganesh Dutt, Mr. P. N. Chatterjee, Mr. K. K. Deb, Mr. J. N. Chadha, Mr. J. K. Roy, Mr. Har Dyal Singh, Mr. M. L. Gauher Ali, Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit, Mrs. H. Bradlaugh Bonner, Miss A. Smith, Mr. J. W. Neill, Mr. J. D. Anderson, Mr. N. Din, Mr. M. Dikshif, Mr. V. N. Mehta, Mr. M. L. Varma, Mr. G. P. Sinha, Mr. B. Nath, Mr. B. De, Mr. N. Goswain, Mr. A. T. Rajan, Mr. L. Ali, Mr. G. V. Deshmukh, Mr. S. Y. Deshmukh, Mr. D. D. Karnat, Mr. M. V. Ahhyankar, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Miss Ratcliffe, Miss Chapman Hands, Mr. H. Bubeck, Mr. Charanjit Rai, Mr. B. J. Wadia, Mr. Jehangir H. Vakeel, Mr. A. P. Dubé, Mr. H. D. Cama, Mr. J. M. Patel, Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji, Mr. A. Werner, Mr. T. Stoker, Mr. Nathu Ram, Mr. J. B. Patel, Mr. H. Singh, Mr. V. D. Savaskar, Mr. H. A. Cotton, Mr. M. A. Khan, Mr. M. R. Mohindar, Mr. D. V. Thakor, Mr. S. E. Kurwa, Mr. C. Fernandez, M.D., Mr. J. A. Wadia, Mr. F. E. Hosain, Mr. M. Asghar, Mr. J. A. Bonajee, Mr. P. N. Datta, Mr. F. Paul, Mr. B. J. Ahkhan, Mr. A. Hamid, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

THE CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in calling on Mr. Gokhale to read his paper. Mr. Gokhale is well known in India as a member of the Viceroy's Council, and anything that falls from Mr. Gokhale on the Indian situation is worthy of our best attention.

THE HON. G. K. GOKHALE, C.I.E., proceeded to read his paper on "Self-Government for India."\*

MR. AMEER ALI said he had listened with much interest to the able exposition by Mr. Gokhale of the aims and aspirations of his party. With much that was said he was in sympathy ; many of the practical suggestions the lecturer had put forward were identical, if not in words, certainly in substance, with those he had urged for the last twenty-six years for the consideration of the authorities. He quite agreed that it was no longer possible for India to be governed on the assumption of racial inferiority.

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

Great changes had occurred in the ideals of the people and their conceptions regarding their political rights, and the time had arrived when the basis of administration should be broadened in that spirit of sympathy and comradeship which had been referred to by the Prince of Wales in his recent speech at the Guildhall. It was true that the progress of India was by no means uniform; that it was still inhabited by communities in a primitive state of growth. But the government of a country, he submitted, should be in accord with the ideals and standards of its advanced nationalities rather than those of its backward people. He considered that the development of the Hindoos and Mahommedans under British rule had proceeded in identical lines, and they undoubtedly formed the two most civilized communities of India. English education, in which, owing to causes unnecessary to detail here, the Mahommedans had lost ground, has within recent years made great progress among them. And yet they occupied a very secondary position in the actual administration. The British Government occasionally remembered that the Mahommedans had rights, but unfortunately it was only occasionally.

It is extraordinary that in none of the speeches or the writings of the Congress was there any reference to the position of Mahommedans, or to questions affecting their well-being. So long as that remained the case, it was no wonder that the Mahommedans looked askance at the movement of which Mr. Gokhale and his friends were the exponents. Long before the Congress was conceived an organization was set on foot in Calcutta for the protection of Mahommedan interests, but it came to nought owing to opposition from the north-west. It was an irony of fate that had brought about the foundation of the organization at Aligarh at the present time for the same purpose. With regard to whether its programme would become the same as that of the Congress, it was impossible for him to express an opinion, but he was of opinion that the minority was bound to see that its interests were not permanently relegated to the background, as was at present the case.

In order to secure equal treatment and a fair recognition of their claims, it was essential for the Mahommedans not only to be properly led, but to have definite ideas regarding their rights and privileges. Though he sympathized in many respects with the programme of the Congress, he maintained it was their duty to have a definite conception of their position in India, and to see that the majority whose influence was at present predominant in the councils of government should not remain exclusively in the possession of that influence for ever. There were some omissions in the paper which he should like to point out in no unfriendly spirit. In the first place, no reference had been made to the persistent drain on the resources of India caused by the incessant family litigation, which was the ruin of many people. Something ought to be done to stop this disastrous state of things. With regard to the advisability of holding simultaneous examinations both in India and England for admission into the Civil Service, he ventured to differ from the learned lecturer. He had always thought that the effect of Indian students coming to England was to broaden their minds, and in the result help them to see things in a

wider and more liberal spirit than if their training and education were confined to India. Even if there were simultaneous examinations, it would be necessary to send students to England after they had passed the preliminary examination to give them some knowledge of the world, and thus widen their horizon. Speaking from his own experience, he had met extremely able and intelligent men who had never travelled out of India, but he often found that when they came to deal with questions affecting different communities they did not look at the subject in the same broad spirit as the men who had travelled.

MR. S. S. THORBURN, while sympathizing with the aspirations of Mr. Gokhale as a highly-educated Indian gentleman, and holding that some of the appointments at present reserved for Englishmen should be opened to Indians, thought that Mr. Gokhale had not handled his case with the tact and discrimination with which he ought to have handled it. Mr. Gokhale was not addressing an audience of impulsive, unbusinesslike, uninformed sentimentalists—a class much in evidence just now—but a level-headed body of English and Indian gentlemen, most of whom were accustomed to examine things for themselves, and he (Mr. Thorburn) thought that some of the assumptions made by Mr. Gokhale were erroneous, and some of his statements of fact were terminological inexactitudes. (Laughter.) He thought, further, that some of his demands were either unreasonable or unworkable. To take instances: the statement was made that “the old faith of the people in the character and ideals of British rule had been more than shaken.” Well, he (Mr. Thorburn) had been over thirty years in India, and knew something about the people in the western part of the Punjab, and his opinion was that the masses there had still the same implicit belief in the impartiality and the justice of the English as they had thirty or forty years ago. (No, no.) What Mr. Gokhale really meant was that the old faith, not of the people, the masses, but of the “intellectuals” of India had changed, because they did not get all they wanted. Again, Mr. Gokhale talked of “the complete exclusion of Indians from their own Government.” That was not a fact: more than 70 per cent. of the appointments carrying more than 50 rupees a month were held by Indians. (Laughter, and cries of No, no.) There was also a considerable amount of autonomy in the country. In the Punjab, and probably everywhere else, every district had its District Board, its subdivisional Boards, and towns with populations over 5,000 were managed by municipalities, a large proportion of the members being elected. He maintained that the administration of India—and he defied anyone in the room to prove the reverse—was the purest, cheapest, and best in the world. (Interruption.) With regard to the Mahommedan movement at Aligarh, which Mr. Gokhale said “must inevitably merge into the older organization of the National Congress,” his own conviction was the reverse: as the Mahommedan organization strengthened it would diverge more and more from the Indian National Congress party, which was composed of Hindoo “intellectuals.” (No, no.) A little further on Mr. Gokhale referred to “the attitude of the Indian mind towards British rule” as changed. He would have been nearer to the truth if he had said “the

intellectual Indian mind." The British rule never was popular in India—no foreign rule could be, and never would be—but British justice was. (Hear, hear, and No, no.) Further on in sentence after sentence Mr. Gokhale had rather sneered at the efficiency of the administration in India, had persistently belittled the work of the English there, and glorified government by "the people," and so forth, quoting in support of his view what he said was "a wise observation of the present Prime Minister, that 'good government could never be a substitute for government by the people themselves.'" Good government meant efficient government, and government by the people would mean in India the rule of the ignorant and stupid masses. If they had it, they would have a revival of Suttee, female infanticide, and other abominations, and the first to suffer would be the "intellectuals." (No, no.) He thought that that remark of the Prime Minister must have been a vote-catching observation. In this age of keen competition no institution, whether State or commercial company, could thrive without efficiency, and "government by the people" was nowhere very efficient, and in India would soon produce chaos. Then he had been very sorry to hear the remark about Lord Curzon. It was not because Lord Curzon strove for efficiency that "never was discontent deeper and more widespread than when he left India." In point of fact, for the first three or four years of his Indian administration Lord Curzon was popular with everyone. Both the British and the vernacular newspapers all lauded him, but latterly his educational policy offended the "intellectuals," and then came the partition of Bengal. The discontent was in the minds of the "intellectuals," and not in those of the people. Next came Mr. Gokhale's attack on the "bureaucracy." He denied Englishmen credit for honest convictions; it did not seem to occur to him that one reason why Indians are not more readily advanced to certain posts in the service was due to the conviction that they were not as fit as their English rivals to fill the coveted appointments. (Ironical laughter.) He quite agreed that in the field of law Indians were found climbing to the top of the tree; the best judge in the Punjab Chief Court when he (Mr. Thorburn) left India was a Bengali gentleman, Mr. Justice Chatterjee, but half a dozen swallows did not make summer. He believed it was the fact that, outside Calcutta, wherever there was a strong Bar the practitioners who drew the largest incomes from the law were Englishmen, and not Indians. The very fact of the aptitude of educated Indians for the law, and their want of eminence in other professions and businesses, proved their limitations. The law was not the only field open to Indians. There was medicine, surgery, dentistry, tea and coffee planting, the whole world of commerce, engineering, building, and so forth. All those fields were open to them, but few entered them. They were practically monopolized by foreigners, Englishmen, and others. With regard to the old demand that competitive examinations should be held simultaneously in India and England, he agreed with what Mr. Ameer Ali had said, and his mind went back to the time when Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick argued out the case on paper, and he believed, convinced the then Secretary of State and the Members of Council that simultaneous examinations were impossible



If you contrast the environment and school trainings of English and Indian boys, there must be greater fitness for the work to be performed on the part of the latter. Besides the broadening of the mind built up by an English education, it stood to reason that "a finished product," on which £2,000 or more had been spent, was probably a better article than one which had cost as many rupees. As to the charge that the Indian "administration is carried on in the dark and behind the backs of the people," it was not correct. There was not the slightest change made in the law without the opinion of the people being first ascertained through the medium of the press, the official gazette, and the District and Divisional Boards and municipalities—in fact, every Indian and Anglo-Indian whose opinion was worth having was consulted. Then if, as Mr. Gokhale insisted, "local bodies" were made "popular assemblies," and not subjected to some sort of strict control, he (Mr. Thorburn) believed that the result would only be inefficiency and general corruption. (Interruption.) Finally, coming to Mr. Gokhale's last demand for "mass education"—i.e., "free and compulsory education for both boys and girls"—it would cost, say, fifteen millions sterling, and where was the money to come from? The parents of the children would have to find the money for the education of their children, and a large number of educational police would be required to herd the children to school. Then, as useful education only begins at ten, and parents require their boys to begin to help as workers and wage-earners about that age, they would clamour for compensation for the loss of their children's services. But supposing the money found, and all the boys and girls in India forced to school, what would happen next? Then would be the time for the political agitator; the people would be taught that the object of the sahibs was to Christianize the children, and once that idea got abroad there would be small insurrections in many places.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have, unfortunately, another important function to attend at University College, and therefore you must allow me to intervene at this stage of the debate. In the first place, I wish to state very distinctly that the debt which India owes for the administration it has received in the past to the members of the Civil Service is of great magnitude (Hear, hear), and if you compare the Civil Service of India with the Civil Service of any other country—and I do not make any exception—if you compare the colonial administration of Germany, the colonial administration of France, the colonial administration of the United States in the Philippines, with the administration of England in India, you will find that the Indian Civil Service is *facile princeps*. I am not a bureaucrat; I know the limitations of bureaucracy, and I am aware that India and every other country needs, in the first place, enlightened statesmen to govern it (Hear, hear); but it would be in the highest degree unfair, whilst we admit that statesmen of the highest order must be sent to India to realize what the problems are which India offers, not to recognise what is being done by the men who are sent out by England, and who spend all the best working years of their lives in India, and many of whom certainly come back thoroughly imbued with affection for the

people for whom and amongst whom they have worked. (Hear, hear.) Now what is to be done? In the first place I entirely agree with one of the principles laid down in this paper—that we must not alienate the educated classes in India, through whom we can strengthen our rule. (Hear, hear.) My relations when I was in India with the educated classes of the community were of the most cordial nature. (Applause.) Further, I think that the share which has been given to the natives in judicial appointments, in which they have been eminently successful, can be enlarged. I also consider that in the other departments more scope can be given to native talent; but I am bound to make one reservation, and that is, that as long as this country is responsible for the prosperity of India, you must have the supervision and the inspection carried out by Englishmen, in order that the standard of administration may not be lowered, but may remain as high as it is now. (Hear, hear.) Let me give you an illustration of what happened to me personally. There was a district during my time in India which had a collector, a police superintendent, and a judge who were all natives, and I admit that the administration worked smoothly; but we were asked by the people of the district what was the reason that that district was excluded from administration by an Englishman, and we were asked—and of course we complied with their request—to send them an Englishman. Further, in cases where there is friction, as does happen, unfortunately, between Hindoos and Mahomedans, the advantage of having an impartial English officer to arbitrate between the contending parties is certainly of very great importance, and my experience is that in cases where such difficulties arose, and they were left to be dealt with by native officials, the risk of friction was greater.

Now there is a third direction in which I think reform should be carried out—namely, in the separation of the judicial and the administrative functions. (Applause.) That is gradually being done. You will find that in the Central Provinces there has been an extension of the line of demarcation between the two. With the exception of the hill tribes and remote districts, I think it is a just demand that these functions should be separated everywhere, and that no judicial, administrative, and police duties should be discharged on the same lines as they are in this country.

Then as regards what I consider one of the most important practical questions—the development of the resources of the country. In that direction a great deal can be done to open up avenues of remunerative and of profitable labour for educated Indians, and I must in this connection pay a tribute to a man who thoroughly understood that aspect of the situation in India—namely, my late friend Mr. Tata, and I greatly regret that the scheme of Mr. Tata for establishing a research institute at Mysore was not taken up by the Government of India, as it ought to have been, with greater sympathy, and that the establishment of this institute was imperilled by constant delays. (Hear, hear.) Although Mr. Tata desired this institute to be started in Bombay, when it was proposed that it should be erected in Mysore, he gave a large sum of money—even taking into account his great fortune, it was a great part of that fortune—for the development of Indian industries on scientific lines.

Now there is another claim made in the paper to which I assent, and that is that greater extension should be given to elementary education. The picture here given of the four villages out of five which are without a school-house I do not believe is overdrawn, and I admit it is very deplorable. I do not think we can shelter ourselves behind the fact that there would have to be a great expenditure to fulfil our duty in that respect. (Loud applause.) But the claim that India should be governed as a self-governing colony is a claim which seems to me unreasonable. You must not lose sight of the fact that self-government in the colonies and self-government in England is the result of the existence of compulsory and general education, and that the people are supposed to exercise their voting power with discrimination. Now I ask any Indian here whether he can possibly contemplate, with the condition of the masses as described in this paper, that they should be entrusted with the exercise of the franchise. You see what is happening in Russia. There, to a certain extent, you have the same situation—namely, that the masses have not been educated; that the masses are not fit to exercise voting power. Not until the masses have been educated can you make the experiment. I should strongly deprecate any attempt to govern India on principles of self-government which apply to a totally different situation—to people who are in a totally different stage of development. Meanwhile the legitimate desire of the educated classes to share in the government and administration of the country should be carefully considered in order to secure steady progress and prosperity and a due regard for the susceptibilities of the various races. (Hear, hear.) Do not forget that progress does not depend on self-government. You will have more progress under present conditions without self-government. You must not forget that ultimately the Secretary of State for India is responsible to Parliament for the government of India. I do not see how it is possible to prevent the exercise by Parliament of those powers of control which are inherent in our constitution. Therefore, when it is stated in this paper that the centre of power should not be in London, I think that a caveat should be entered, because I do not think that such a change in the constitution as would limit in any way the influence of Parliament over the Secretary of State and the responsibility of the Secretary of State to Parliament would be accepted by the people of this country, however ignorant they may be of the condition of the Indian people, and, in consequence, cautious in their judgment on Indian affairs. Speaking as a friend and a well-wisher of India, I must advise, especially the more enthusiastic younger generation of India, who naturally, being young and ardent, and seeing how well in this country institutions work which are the result of a long process of evolution, not to rush to the conclusion that those institutions would be to the advantage of India where that process of evolution is in an early stage. I think that when they return to India, and when they study the situation which confronts them, they will find that the situation is not analogous. They will have other means within their power to benefit the people of India. It is the duty and the privilege of the statesmen who rule India by gradual and cautious progress to enlist in the various councils and branches of the administration the services of educated

natives, in order that they may gain experience of the very complex problems which have to be solved and that sense of responsibility which cannot fail to inspire confidence. (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then left, and SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN presided during the remainder of the proceedings.

MR. MORISON said he did not understand that Mr. Gokhale either demanded or contemplated the introduction of self-government into India immediately, but he wished to obtain a statement that the authorities would recognise that self-government for India within the Empire was a desirable ideal. His own idea was that some day in the future India should be autonomous, and from that there followed, as a second corollary, in which he found himself also in agreement with Mr. Gokhale and differing from Mr. Thorburn, that the test of an administrative measure must not only be whether it tended to efficiency of administration, but whether it tended towards the realization of the ultimate goal—the government of the people by themselves. (Applause.) That is, that they should consider whether any measure introduced tended towards the education of the people and towards qualifying them towards self-government. Where he differed from Mr. Gokhale was as to what measures were most educative in that direction. Mr. Gokhale had referred to the extension of the advisory functions, by which he understood him to mean that a certain number of elected representatives were to give advice that would not necessarily be followed. (Laughter.) He thought that was a fair description. It was not proposed that those representatives of the people should be entrusted with the administration. That represented a policy with regard to which Englishmen, with whom democratic methods were “bone of their bone,” could give a better opinion than an Indian. The result, he believed, would be that if Indian politicians were made a sort of constitutional opposition to criticise the Government, the tendency would always be to more bitter and more violent criticism, and at the same time there was no advantage in the education of the people. The persons who gave the advice irresponsibly attempted to draw more attention to what they said by violent and exaggerated speeches, and the audience to whom they appealed had no means of testing whether they were genuine leaders or not, because, *ex hypothesi*, they were never asked to go and do the work themselves. The experience with regard to every opposition in England was that the longer it stayed out the more exaggerated became its claims and the more words it used, which it had afterwards to eat when it got into office. In India the unfortunate state of things was that they had a permanent opposition and a Government that could not go out, and Mr. Gokhale's proposition would have the effect of increasing that state of affairs. He took an illustration from Mr. Gokhale's reference to military matters. In a discussion that had recently taken place at a meeting of the Association it had been pointed out that the largest number of men that under any possible circumstances could be mustered in India was 300,000 out of a population of 300 millions, less than half the number that Japan put into Manchuria. So long as the opposition had the power to criticise the Government, the tendency would be to make capital against it by re-

ferring to militarism and raising animosity against it; but was it conceivable that if Mr. Gokhale and his friends were in power they would demand that India should have no stronger force than that of a Balkan State? Would India be voluntarily reduced by them into the condition of Persia or China, from which stronger Powers carved what slices they would? He felt convinced that a person of the ability and patriotism of Mr. Gokhale would not in office ever be tempted to weaken India to this extent. Therefore it seemed to him that the extension of what Mr. Gokhale called the advisory system would simply be to create an opposition whose duty it would be to carp at the Government without at the same time providing any education for the people of India in the art of administration.

DR. V. H. RUTHERFORD, M.P., said he thought the colossal ignorance of the people of England with regard to India was a very terrible thing, and when he was brought into contact with such men as Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Dutt he felt that India deserved a better fate than she was at present receiving. He felt that Englishmen should be guided by the intellectuals of India, and he was surprised to hear a gentleman like Mr. Thorburn decrying the intellectuals. He would like to see, in the first instance at any rate, India governed by her intellectuals, and go step by step from that to some form of self-government. The greatest glory the English people could gain as Imperial people would be to raise India to a position of self-government, and, in fact, raise her to be a great and glorious nation in the world. That was a question of time, and they did not propose democratic institutions in India straight off the reel, but they did think that India should have some measure of self-government year by year until they were their own masters in what he might call a confederation of free nations recognising the King of England as the King of all.

MR. C. McMINN agreed with everything Mr. Gokhale had said as to his ideals in connection with India, and there was not a single one of them that he had not himself put before the English authorities—such, for instance, as simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service in India and England. Mr. Ameer Ali had shown a certain timorousness with regard to the experiment, but, considering it was a thing that would gratify the people of India, the experiment ought to be made. His (Mr. McMinn's) proposal forty years ago was a very simple one—namely, that a certain proportion to commence with—say one-eighth—should be selected in India by competitive examination, to which the residents not only in India, but also in Australia and the whole British Empire, should be admitted; but the other examinations should still be conducted in England. He was also of opinion that two or three native members should be added to the Indian Council. But when Mr. Gokhale proceeded to enumerate the benefits which England had conferred on India, some of the most important ones had been left out of consideration, and apparently he was rather considering those benefits which had been conferred as regards means of communication than benefits granted to the people at large—he had mentioned railways, post-offices, the telegraph, liberty of speech and press, all of which Congress leaders specially utilized and valued; he felt and spoke as a politician, not as one of the masses—

because he had entirely omitted dispensaries, harbours, bridges, hospitals, canals, and famine relief. Then the proper answer had not been given to the charge of militarism. The population of India was 300 millions, and the entire English and native military force was only 220,000; further, India was the only country in the world in which the military force had largely decreased and not increased. The army numbered 292,000 so late as 1847. With regard to discontent with British rule, he must admit that the discontent of the educated classes was spreading too fast; but with reference to the people of Northern India, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces, in which he had spent forty-four years and where he intended to die, he utterly denied that there was any discontent growing there. He maintained that the English rule was more popular, and the trust in English authority and honour was even greater than it was fifty years ago. Gentlemen who addressed them about the discontent came from Calcutta or Poona. They knew nothing hardly of the northern hundred millions who spoke Hindi or Urdu. These latter had a very significant proverb—

“Bengali Bengali se bolo, Panjabi Panjabi se  
Hindustani ham se bolo, dil ke kunji kholo jan.”

MR. ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT said that, if it had been the desire of Mr. Gokhale to arouse a healthy discussion on the subject of his paper, he had eminently succeeded. Mr. Gokhale had made two clear and definite statements. The first was that they had no adequate representation or share in the administration of India; and the second point was that, as a consequence, their faith in the desire of the British Government to rule India for the benefit of the Indians themselves was declining. It had been admitted by many of the previous speakers that the share which they had in the administration of the country was nothing like what they ought to have after 150 years of British rule. After three generations of Indians had been educated in English schools and colleges in India, the share they had in the administration was infinitesimal and ridiculous. With regard to things being done behind their backs, Mr. Gokhale did not impute any bad motives to the administrators, but he meant that, in the way the work was being done at present, orders were frequently passed of which they were not aware. As one instance of what he meant, he would mention that up to about 1888 the general rule in making land-revenue settlements in the Central Provinces was that half of the rental of the country should be taken as the land revenue of the State. This was objected to by the officials, and after correspondence with the Viceroy the proportion was increased to something like 75 per cent. of the rental, and the whole of that was done without the people knowing a single word about it until the order was passed. As they were interested in the good government of the country, and suffered by bad or mistaken government, the people ought to be consulted, and the educated people in India represented the masses. It was no use saying that every man, woman, and child must be educated before self-government was given. That was not done in England or in any part of the world. Within the last twenty years arrangements had been made by which the higher ranks in nearly all the services

had been practically closed to Indians. Was that the sort of treatment that they should receive from the British Government after 150 years of British rule? With regard to the separation of the judicial and executive services, which had lately taken place in the State of Baroda, that was a thing which the educated people of India had been agitating for for years past, and an influentially-signed memorial on the subject was submitted to the Secretary of State for India some years ago, one of the signatories being the late Lord Hobhouse. It was said then that the separation could not be effected because it would cost more money; but, as a matter of fact, His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda had effected the separation in his State, and it had not cost a single shilling more. With regard to compulsory education, that might be a costly affair, but he certainly thought the Indian Government might spend a little more than the £200,000 they were at present spending on primary education. In the Gaekwar's territories an order was passed, ten or twelve years ago, making it compulsory in a small *taluka* for all boys and girls to attend school. That experiment had been successful, and His Highness the Gaekwar was taking steps, at some increase of expenditure, to extend compulsory education all over the State of Baroda.

MR. JEHANGIR BOMANJEE PETIT thought that Mr. Gokhale in his paper had voiced the sentiments of the whole of the educated Indian people. One of the greatest benefits that had been bestowed on India by British rule was the educational system of England, with its great and noble literature; and with that had grown up a spirit of raising the people to the highest political ideal of British citizenship, which that literature had taught them, and which Mr. Gokhale's paper aimed at securing. With reference to Mr. Thorburn's statement that the government of India was the cheapest and the purest in the world, he maintained that, although India was the poorest country on the face of the earth, it was the most heavily taxed, and the most expensively governed country in the world. With reference to their demands for association in the government of their own country, they had not only the unanimous voice of the people behind them, but also the unanimous opinions of many great Englishmen who had come to India in their favour, and as an instance of that he would refer to Lord Lytton's minute, dated May 22, 1878, to show how the most sacred promises, spontaneously given, were broken:

"No sooner was the Act (1833) passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. . . . We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course. . . . I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear."

Mr. Petit concluded by saying that he did not think it was either possible or statesmanlike to permanently deny a voice in the government of their country to a people whose aspirations were nourished from their early youth on the strong food of English liberty, and was of opinion that

if the minds that they were cultivating and had trained were not employed by the ruling classes in their favour, they would be employed against them.

The HON. G. K. GOKHALE, in replying, said that the main purpose of his paper had been served by the very interesting discussion which had taken place. The remarks made by the different speakers might be classed under three heads—namely, those that were absolutely friendly, those that were partially friendly and partially critical, and those that were practically hostile. In the first category he placed the speeches of his friends Mr. Dutt and Mr. Jehangir Bomanjee Petit; in the second category came the speeches of the Chairman (Lord Reay), Mr. Ameer Ali, Professor Morison, and Mr. McMinn; and in the last category he put the speech of his friend Mr. Thorburn. With regard to the criticism of Lord Reay, he thought it had been made clear that what he asked for was not immediate self-government, but that self-government should be the ideal of British rule in India. With reference to the practical steps to be taken towards that ultimate goal opinions must differ, but he was glad to see there was so much common ground between himself and Mr. Morison, whose idea seemed to be that, instead of expanding what he called Advisory Boards, it would be better to make over one small province to Indian administration. This was the proposal Mr. Morison made two years ago with regard to Berar, and the speaker was prepared to support it whole-heartedly. In regard to Mr. McMinn, there again he was glad to see so much common ground, and he perfectly admitted the additional benefits that had come to them from British rule, and it was from no want of appreciation of them that they had been left out.

With regard to Mr. Ameer Ali's remark, he would like to say that he had not consciously spoken of the movement at Aligarh in any deprecatory manner. On the contrary, he hoped great things from it. As regards the competitive examinations, he quite agreed with Mr. Ameer Ali that their young men should pass examinations and then come to England. With regard to litigation ruining the people, he had not spoken of that because it was not relevant to that day's discussion. He thought there were a great many other things too ruining the people, but that was not the place to speak of them. The subject he was dealing with was self-government, and what the British public could do with regard to that matter, and that had nothing to do with social institutions and litigation.

Passing to Mr. Thorburn's criticism of the paper, which he considered as amazing, the speaker said that Mr. Thorburn had rather dealt with his paper in the way that a pedagogue would have dealt with a schoolboy's essay, and had made a series of running comments upon it without any thread that could be laid hold of. When Mr. Thorburn said that the British Government was the cheapest in the world he differed from many distinguished Anglo-Indian administrators, who had admitted the extreme costliness of it, and deplored it, though urging at the same time that it was inevitable. With regard to Mr. Thorburn's calculation as to the cost of compulsory primary education amounting to fifteen millions, he had care-



fully gone into the matter, and his opinion was that not more than five to six millions would be required ; but even that they did not ask for all at once. What was needed, however, was that an earnest beginning should be made in the matter.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, in closing the proceedings, said that with reference to the claim of the people of India to have a share in the government of their own country, they could not have a better object-lesson than some of the Indian gentlemen present—for instance, Mr. Justice Tyabjee, Mr. Ameer Ali, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, and Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt. Taking those four gentlemen, he did not think the Government of India need look further than the four corners of that room for competent advisers. It had been said that Mr. Gokhale had unfairly criticised the Government of India, but as he understood him, it was the system, and not the men, that was complained of. He thought they were all agreed as to the great merits of the Indian Civil Service, but he believed that the time for a purely bureaucratic form of government for India had passed, and that was really the whole point of Mr. Gokhale's contention.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to Lord Reay and Sir William Wedderburn for presiding.

MR. FRANCIS H. SKRINE writes : I would ask permission to place on record the remarks which I would have made if the patience of those present had not been unduly strained by the number who took part in the discussion, and, I regret to add, by the tone which some of them adopted. Mr. Gokhale's conclusions, on the whole, commend themselves to common-sense. It would make for better government were executive councils established in every province with a strong elective minority. Justice suggests that a proportion of the appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service should be competed for in India, selected candidates undergoing their two years' probation in this country. I would thus allot twenty of the fifty annual vacancies, and reserve at least five for Mahommedans. Indians of good birth ought certainly to find a congenial career in the army, and it is simply scandalous that they are debarred from winning the most coveted of military orders—the V.C. With Mr. Gokhale's premisses I am not in accord. It is surely an exaggeration, in the face of legislation since 1870, to assume that England has broken solemn pledges, and justly forfeited the confidence of the educated classes. It is cruel to brand the old martial families of India as "broken swords," for a statesman should utilize their hereditary influence, and enlist it in the Empire's cause. No one can doubt that the peaceful revolution which we all desire would have advanced more rapidly had more "sweet reasonableness" been displayed by extremists. If the rising generation be "full of Irish bitterness," this ominous state of things is the fruit of the campaign of falsehood and misrepresentation undertaken by a noisy section of Indian "intellectuals." That politics may be discussed in a friendly spirit is proved by the history of the M.A.O. Institute. Having dined with this body on the night before Mr. Gokhale's paper was read, I can testify to the fact that the late

Syed Ahmed's followers are fully prepared to give Englishmen credit for good intentions, and to go hand in hand with them in promoting the welfare of the 300 million fellow-creatures who look to these little overburdened islands for all the essentials of civilization. I would respectfully urge my Indian brothers to take a leaf out of the illustrious Nawab's book. We cannot do without them, and they cannot do without us. The first step towards political reform must be to establish mutual sympathy and mutual toleration. John Bull will concede nothing to a pistol clapped to his head, but he is very amenable to fair words and temperate criticism.

MR. D. N. REID writes: I am in sympathy with much that was said by the Hon. G. K. Gokhale in his interesting lecture on the above-mentioned subject. Yet I venture to think that I was the only man present in the room at yesterday's meeting of your Association who thoroughly recognises the necessity of agricultural reform in India, and the following quotation from Mr. Patrick Geddes' article on "Cyprus: Actual and Possible," in the *Contemporary Review* of June, 1897, may be applied equally well to India if the word "Indian" is substituted for "Eastern" in the last sentence of the extract: "But if the desired 'reforms' mean anything, they admittedly involve corresponding financial reforms, fiscal reforms, and where there are practically no manufactures and commerce turns on agricultural output, what can these reforms come down to but agriculture? So the Eastern Question is ultimately an Agricultural Question."

To quote again from Mr. Geddes' article: "The main ineptitude of the Great Powers has been the agricultural ineptitude of their representatives, who have been diplomatic or military, Parliamentary or journalistic, almost to a man. Their futility is but the common urban incapacity to govern agricultural populations, to deal with rustic questions." The above is a quotation which should entail searchings of heart among the members of the National Congress—a Congress which is notoriously political in its aims. Hence the reason why agriculture was passed by on the other side at yesterday's meeting of your Association, although the question of rent did crop up on one or two occasions during the debate. But India is not a rack-rented country, whatever Mr. Romesh C. Dutt may say to the contrary.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting of the Association held at Caxton Hall on Monday, July 16, 1906, a paper was read by Arthur Sawtell, Esq., late of Lahore, on "India and Anglo-India : Some Unofficial Impressions,"\* Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., presiding. There were present, among others, the following : Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Lesley Probyn, Sir W. Evans-Gordon, M.P., Cavalier P. F. Righetti (Italian Vice-Consul), Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Colonel Lewis, Colonel F. W. Wright, Lieutenant-Colonel Drury, Major and Mrs. Fink, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. John Pollen, LL.D., C.I.E., Mr. S. M. Mitra, M.R.A.S., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Charles McMinn, Mr. W. W. Sawtell, Rev. J. C. Sowerbutts, Mrs. and Mr. Rustomji Faredonji (Deputy Commissioner, Akola), Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, the Misses Delaney, Mr. Abdul Majid (Cantab.), Mr. J. W. Fox, Mr. J. W. Neill, Dr. Bhabba, Mr. B. J. Wadia, Mr. Nasarvanji Cooper, Miss A. Smith, Mr. Francis Stringer, Mr. G. Stoker, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. H. Bubeck, Mr. S. W. Nain, Mr. S. A. Hassan, Mr. S. M. Askeri, Mr. P. C. Taraporwalla, Mr. E. Horwitz, Miss Chapman Hands, Mrs. Andrews, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said he had accepted the invitation to preside on that occasion with pleasure, as he had the advantage of knowing that Mr. Sawtell approached the consideration of questions relating to India in a sympathetic spirit with her people. Only last May Mr. Sawtell had delivered before the Royal Colonial Institute a lecture on "India Under British Rule," which breathed that spirit throughout, and contained observations with which he (the Chairman) had found himself mainly in agreement.

The paper was then read.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said that he had great pleasure in asking the audience to listen to what was perhaps in England an unprecedented occurrence, and that was an address by a very distinguished Indian lady, the wife of Mr. Rustomji, a magistrate and Deputy Commissioner in the Berars, whose father bears a well-known and honoured name—Mr. Faredonji, secretary to the Prime Minister, for the last twenty years, at Hyderabad. The East India Association considered that special honour had been done them, and he would like to assure Mrs. Rustomji of a cordial welcome and of the pleasure with which they would all derive from hearing her speak on that occasion.

MRS. RUSTOMJI said : Sir Muncherji Bhownaggee, ladies and gentlemen, I have listened, as no doubt the whole of this gathering has, with great interest to the excellent paper read by Mr. Sawtell before us. We have heard some very instructive impressions of an Englishman on a subject which has engaged the attention of both Europeans and Indians for years past. My countrymen cannot be too grateful to gentlemen like

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

Mr. Sawtell for a candid expression of their views on the delicate question of social intercourse between the two communities, and for the opportunities for discussion it gives to people interested in the subject. Nothing is better calculated to promote social intercourse between the two peoples than a free exchange of ideas on occasions such as this. A gathering like this is, at least, some refutation of the statement so often made that an Englishman lacks sympathy for Indians amongst whom he spends the best years of his life.

You would perhaps like to know the impressions of an Indian lady on the subject. I confess the suggestion put forward to-day that English women in India are responsible for the want of social intercourse between Europeans and Indians strikes me as a very novel one, and I entirely dissent from it. I can cite instances of many a distinguished English lady devoting much time and attention to bringing the two communities together. The cause of Indian women has always had the support and sympathy of English women.

That social intercourse between Europeans and Indians is not what it might be cannot be denied. But no very minute investigation is necessary to find out the cause. In the first place, there must necessarily be a wide social gulf between Europeans who come out to India and those Indians whose education is not in keeping with their wealth and position. Coming to the educated Indians, the bulk of them who seek the society of Europeans keep their ladies behind the purdah. As European society is constituted, free intercourse is impossible under such conditions. That custom is against Indian ladies mixing with any men outside their families is a misfortune, but this can scarcely be urged as an argument for a one-sided arrangement between the two communities. For real social intercourse there must be mutual trust. And I am sure both communities have, at least, the wish to co-operate to this end.

On the other hand, an Englishman shining under the glory of the greatest Empire the world has ever known, and with the legitimate pride of ruling a country like India, would not be human if he were not somewhat spoilt. He is sometimes apt to despise what he does not understand, or what is foreign to European ideas. This insular pride is a subject of complaint against Englishmen on the Continent, and they cannot be expected to be rid of this characteristic when living in a country with an ancient civilization, but backward according to modern ideas. English men and women should also, I think, cultivate the language of the country more than they do at present. It is remarkable how few English gentlemen and ladies who have been long in India can carry on an ordinary conversation in the vernacular in a drawing-room. While I would ask my countrymen to avoid unnecessary suspicions against the ruling race, I would also ask Englishmen to give a little more encouragement to educated Indians who have no social or caste prejudices. Is it not a remarkable fact that in a presidency town like Bombay scarcely any native of India is allowed admission to a European club? On the other hand, at a place like Hyderabad the relations between Europeans and Indians are more cordial than elsewhere, as they often meet at a common club. To

promote social intercourse in India there must be a great deal of give and take, and each side should, in my opinion, try to give more than take.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said he was sure he was only giving voice to the unanimous opinion of the meeting in expressing his admiration of the exceedingly eloquent and sensible remarks of Mrs. Rustomji, and the more so as he thought that she, more than the lecturer, had hit the bull's-eye of the target. He could not agree with the sentimental view which had been taken in the paper of the relations between Indians and Europeans. The paper had dwelt too much on English aloofness. The Hindoos were far more reserved and aloof from the English and from one another than the English were from the Hindoos. The English were a proud and shy race, and not great linguists, and he thought that the alleged aloofness was as much natural shyness and linguistic disability as anything else. But he denied that there was any inherent aloofness in the British character. On the contrary, comparing British methods of treating races alien to themselves, they compared favourably with those of every people in the world. The British had at heart the love of independence and freedom and justice, all of which they had granted to India. When an Indian lady came to England to speak to them was there any aloofness towards her? They received her with the utmost enthusiasm, and that was the spirit with which the English received all worthy and representative Indians who came to this country. When Mr. Sawtell had spoken in his paper of a subject race, he had committed the very fault against which he was protesting. There was no subject race in India. The Indians were certainly fellow-subjects of the King-Emperor. In no other sense were they a subject race. They were their equals, and they were far freer than any other people on the face of the earth except the English themselves. Representative institutions, it is true, they did not possess, but these had never been imagined or known in Asia, and he hoped, for their very great benefit, that they never would be. Then he observed that Mr. Sawtell desired to impose upon that poor and down-trodden community to which he had the honour to belong—the Indian Civil Service—a burden which was even heavier than those which they had been accustomed to bear, namely, the cultivation of oratory, but he hoped that proposal would never be carried out. If it was suggested that speech was better than action, he entirely disagreed, and they had only to look at the history of their own House of Commons to see how entirely speech might be divorced from action. (Applause.) Although himself a man of action, he certainly maintained that the average of Anglo-Indian oratory compared very favourably with that of after-dinner or Parliamentary speakers in England, as the annals of the East India Association amply testified. In conclusion, he begged to offer, on behalf of the Association, the honorary membership of the Association to the gracious lady who had conferred such a great distinction upon it.

MR. S. M. MITRA said : Social misunderstanding between Europeans and Indians is no doubt unfortunate ; but political misunderstanding is worse—it means imperial danger. The learned lecturer proposed to educate the English voter with reference to Indian affairs. His other

proposal is to explain Government measures to Indian peasants. Educating the public is no doubt the foremost duty of the Government, but it should, in my humble opinion, begin neither with the British voter nor with the Indian peasant. It should begin with the future leaders of India. The young men who are qualifying themselves for the Bar and other professions will in time be the leaders of public opinion in India. It is the duty of the Government to educate them so as to enable them to take an intelligent interest in Government measures. We all know that what the Moslem sword failed to do in 800 years English education has achieved in a century. Caste defied the Moslem sword, but is disappearing with the spread of education.

The learned lecturer wants a missionary agency to carry information to the indifferent. But why not first inform those who are anxious to know? The average Indian youth is disliked because he takes the wrong view of Government measures. But has anyone tried to place the right view before him? Why blame him, then? What have the Government done to educate the future leaders of India who are now in England? There is not a society or public library in London where the Indian youth may go occasionally and spend half an hour profitably in reading Blue-Book literature. I know some Bengali youths now in London who are very anxious to know something of Indian problems, but have absolutely no facilities for learning. Let us take, as an instance, the recent opium debate in the House. All that the average Indian youth in London may reasonably be expected to do is to purchase a copy of the *Times* and read the report of the debate. There he finds Mr. Morley referring to an interesting paper read by "a gentleman" at the Geographical Society. Mr. Morley does not mention this gentleman's name. How can the Indian youth find out that this gentleman's name is Colonel Manifold? Even if he finds out the name, where and how can he get the paper to read? Where can he get a copy of the Tientsin Treaty of 1858, and the Chefoo Convention of 1885? Without these, how could he know whether our Government is forcing opium on the Chinese, or that they purchase of their own free will? If he has no materials to form an opinion, is he *alone* to be blamed for following demagogues ignorant of facts?

Now, the next question is how to educate them. Anglo-Saxon energy has solved most difficult administrative problems. There is no difficulty in the case of Indian students. For instance, a couple of rooms added to the Northbrook Society, with a few hundred volumes of standard works and official publications for reference, and some one familiar with Blue-Book literature to explain—say, twice a week—is all that is necessary. Surely for a Government that has altered the destinies of millions in India this is not a formidable task. The British Empire is the greatest Oriental Empire in the world, but does not offer facilities for the cultivation of Oriental languages as France and Germany does. Let not our Government be behind time in everything.

Young Indians who come out to this country are, as a rule, graduates or undergraduates of our Universities. The majority of them are intelligent and honest. It is, therefore, all the more pity that the Government,

directly or indirectly, absolutely makes no attempt to educate the future national leaders of India, and thus avert an imperial danger. When these young men are induced to study Blue-Book literature, they will at once see that, in spite of many defects, the British Government is the best we ever had in India.

Educating the British voter is an excellent idea, but to be effective it must be done through the medium of the spoken word, and spoken by an *Indian* who has enjoyed the blessings of British rule in India.

MR. WHITWORTH said that a few days ago at a meeting of the National Indian Association he had contradicted the statement there made that all movements in India were movements by men only, because he knew of ladies in India capable and ready to address a meeting with effect and eloquence, but he had not then thought that he should so soon have a concrete instance of that before an English audience in London. Turning to the subject of the paper, he thought the author himself would be the first to admit that the amount of suggestion he had been able to make for the removal of the estrangement which he deplored was very small. That was not due to want of observation, but was due to the real difficulty of finding any remedy. The proposal as to the issuing of a manifesto was not a new one, as a similar proposal was made to the Bombay Government some thirteen years ago to issue a small supplement to their gazette, in which it should refute misrepresentations in the Indian press, but that proposal was not accepted. As far as it went it was a good proposal; but it would not go very far, because they might write what they liked, but the public would only read what they liked. With reference to the other proposal, as to the greater use of the spoken word, he thought that might do a little good. To the ordinary Englishman public speaking produced a certain amount of terror, and a little training, he was afraid, would not be sufficient to make him a ready speaker in connection with his office in India; but there were occasional opportunities when English officials did address a large audience—for instance, at the presentation of school prizes and sometimes at municipal meetings—and he thought with the lecturer that if good use were made of such opportunities it would have a valuable effect. Though it was difficult to find a remedy for the evils they were considering, an examination of the real causes need not leave them in a condition of despair. The real causes of the estrangement were not political questions, but might be expressed in three words—caste, sex, and language. As regards language, that had been dealt with by Mrs. Rustomji. The more serious question was caste. It was caste that went so far in preventing real sympathy between Englishmen and Indians, and partly for the reason that there were no leisured classes amongst the English in India, and the busy man must naturally look for his rest and recreation in connection with the hours set apart for eating. But here caste came in, and the Indian could not sit down with the Englishman, and that great opportunity for social intercourse was lost. With regard to the question of sex, the English habit of recognising intellectual quality and companionableness in women was sadly wanting in India. That had a similar effect as regards opportunity for social intercourse, because the

busy official wanted to be with his family at the time of leisure and the time of recreation, and free exchange of ideas was the time when the circumstances of India prevented Englishmen and Indians being together. But there was a ground for satisfaction in that the strength of these things was failing, and there were many good men and true in India, and Indian ladies too, who were working for the removal of these restrictions, and with an enthusiasm that would not be denied. One of them, Mr. R. D. Madholkar, in a speech recently delivered at Nagpur, had used the term "Indian," and then added that in "Indian" he included "Anglo-Indian." That was a remark very full of significance. The great nation which they all hoped to see arise in India would not be of one racial strain, but would be the joint product of all who are now working for the true advancement of India.

DR. JOHN POLLEN drew attention to the many instances in which English ladies had been devotedly anxious to promote social relations between themselves and the native ladies, and instanced the services of Mrs. Herbert Birdwood and Mrs. Adams Wyllie and others in the hospitals during the plague. With reference to the difficulty of language, that would be removed very rapidly, because the native ladies were taking to "Esperanto." (Laughter.) He congratulated Mrs. Rustomji on her admirable speech. He knew the family of Patels, in Bombay, to which she belonged—a family distinguished for intellectual gifts of a very high order. He also knew her father-in-law, Mr. Faredonji, the well-known private secretary to His Highness the Nizam, and one who had done more than anyone else to bring Europeans and natives together socially in Hyderabad. Dr. Pollen agreed with Sir Lepel Griffin that it was not right to speak of the natives of India as "a subject race." They were no such thing. There were only two classes in India now—viz., the rulers and the ruled—*i.e.*, the officials and the non-officials—and natives of the country constituted the vast majority of the former. Law was the dominant force in India, and all the subordinate judges, and many of the district and High Court judges, were natives of India, and surely they were not "a subject race"! They were the real lords of the land, and masters of the situation.

MR. P. C. TARAPORWALLA protested against the remarks of the lecturer about the mem-sahibs. Much of the social reform which had taken place in India would have been quite impossible but for the kindly offices which had been exercised by numerous English ladies on behalf of the Indian people. He thought the suggestion as to the aloofness of the mem-sahibs in India had been exaggerated, and as to the alleged aloofness of the officials of India, in his experience Indian officials took great pains to be in direct touch with the people. With regard to isolation, the people of India were isolated to one another, and he, as a Parsee, knew but very little of the home-life of the Hindoo. With regard to the suggestion made by Mrs. Rustomji about the formation of a club to which Europeans and natives could have common access, a move in that direction had been made in Bombay through the kind offices of that great friend of the Indian people, Dr. John Pollen.



MR. McMINN said that, whatever might be the case in large cities like Bombay, in small districts there was no aloofness between the two races. Many of the pleasantest hours of his life had been spent in the society of native gentlemen, and to say there was any aloofness on the part of the native gentlemen was a complete mistake. Anyone who knew the present conditions of life in Bombay and Calcutta must think with regret and shame that at the large clubs, consisting of from 1,000 to 1,200 members, on their doors might be inscribed, "No Indian may enter here." He had done his best to get an alteration of that rigid, even if unwritten, rule, which must be felt by native noblemen and gentlemen as an insult and a stigma.

COLONEL McDONALD also dissented from the lecturer in his attack on the mem-sahibs. If anything was recognised, it was that the wives and daughters of the officials had earned for themselves the warm regard of the Indian ladies by endeavouring in every possible way to bring them more into touch with Western ideas. He agreed that the whole crux of the question centred in the question of caste, and so long as that existed, so long would there be great difficulty in bringing Western and Eastern ideas together. He deprecated the use of the expression "subject races," because India could not be looked upon in that light. The Indians were as free as the people of England, and he thought that, so long as the laws of India were administered in the spirit in which they had been administered, the people of India would draw more and more close to the Mother Country, and so long as the mass education was properly directed with a view of bringing together the people of the two countries, in the course of a few years the caste prejudices would be put aside.

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and gentlemen, I think I may in your name thank Mr. Sawtell for giving us an extremely valuable and interesting lecture, embracing many of those considerations which surround the important question of the relations subsisting between Englishmen and the people of India. In my opinion, if there is any aloofness from friendly intercourse between them—and I am not prepared to deny that there is some—it is the result more or less of ignorance, among other causes. With regard to individual instances of unfriendliness occurring now and then between persons, they are, no doubt, deplorable, but we have to consider the subject as presented to us by the lecturer on entirely general grounds, and from that point of view I have not the least hesitation in agreeing with the testimony borne by most of the speakers this afternoon as to the desire entertained by the bulk of the people on both sides, both women and men, to approach one another in sympathy and cultivate friendly feelings. On the Indian side this wish is prevalent not only among what are known as the educated classes, but I can speak from personal experience of the more orthodox and business and trading sections and working communities, who form the backbone of the prosperity of the country. With what genuine pleasure they grasp the hand outstretched in friendship of an English lady or gentleman! In spite of the purdah and caste restrictions, they like nothing better than being honoured with the company of Europeans on occasions of family festivities and even religious ceremonies like weddings.

This is a trait which is becoming more general in their everyday life, and it is pleasing to contemplate it, as I regard that the popularity of British rule depends on the cultivation of friendly relations between the two peoples. Mr. Sawtell, however, has stated some reasons why all this measure of confraternity is not brought out and developed to the extent that every well-wisher of India would like to see it manifested. There is much truth in what he says. He seems to have well utilized his five years' residence in India by being a keen observer of things as they are, and I might go the length of saying that if there were more men of his calibre and zeal for the cause of the people among the unofficial European classes there, the fraternal association between the two sections would be more widespread. I allude specially to the non-official European, because he can, to my mind, be a very efficient agent in this matter. The official Briton may, by the etiquette of service and obligations of his duty, be conceivably restricted in entering freely upon terms of intimacy with the people. Free friendship may likely arouse suspicions of his being open to undue influence in the discharge of his duties. An impression like this getting abroad may prove detrimental to the efficiency and integrity which the people have a right to look for in their administrators. But the non-official European, who is generally a merchant or a tradesman or occupying positions in which he is brought necessarily into close business connection with the people, has better opportunities of cultivating friendship with them. I, however, confess with regret that, generally speaking, he does not utilize his opportunities freely. A non-official Englishman even compares unfavourably in this respect with a continental European. The latter finds out soon enough in his career that, in order to cultivate his business, he has first to cultivate the friendship of the merchants and other people with whom he has to transact his business. I have known many continental commercial men, bankers, and others who have shown greater inclination than their British colleagues to be on friendly terms with the Indian people, and have found their advance welcomed and reciprocated. But, on the whole, it may be said that a desire for *rapprochement* on both sides exists, and the obstacles to an unrestricted display of it are to be ascribed to causes such as an exclusive temperament on the one hand, and to the purdah and caste systems on the other, which, with the spread of Western influences and better knowledge of one another, may be trusted gradually to become fewer. But, if I understand Mr. Sawtell rightly, it is not so much with regard purely to the social intercourse between the two sides that he attaches importance to this question of relations between India and Anglo-India as the effect and influence they have on the popularity and appreciation of British administration among and by the people. I am inclined to attach greater weight to that aspect of his discourse, and would support the suggestion he makes for establishing some method, like that in vogue in France, of interpreting to the people the motive and meaning of administrative and legislative measures. I have felt for many years past that, in the absence of any such exposition, the actions of Government conceived for the benefit and in the interests of the masses are misunderstood by them. There are, doubtless, defects and imperfections in the adminis-

trative system of India, and blunders are committed, but even extreme opponents of Government will concede that it is not its mission to do ill by the people. And yet very often the best-intentioned measures of the executive—such, for instance, as those contrived for the suppression of plague and relief from famine—are misjudged by the people, because they happen to be irreconcilable with the feelings, the habits, and the sentiments of the populace, and are, consequently, vexatious and unacceptable. And it is in order to make plain to the popular mind the true inwardness and benevolent motives of Government in respect of such measures that Mr. Sawtell seems to suggest that, by means of manifestoes or speeches by officials, Government should take the people into direct confidence. With these suggestions I heartily concur.

Now, I have promised not to detain you long, and I must leave some time to the lecturer to answer the criticism that has been offered by many of the speakers. I will therefore conclude by tendering to him on behalf of this audience, which I am pleased to see is both distinguished and numerous, our hearty thanks for his sympathetic and well-conceived lecture.

MR. SAWTELL, in reply, said several of the speakers appeared to think that he was in the position of an advocate briefed for the prosecution, with the mem-sahib in the dock. He had no wish to assume such a rôle, but if he must consider himself in the light of an advocate, he was like a prosecuting counsel who rejoiced at the acquittal of the prisoner at the bar. The testimony given by several of the speakers as to the part taken by Anglo-Indian ladies in establishing friendly intercourse with native society was most interesting. Especially valuable were the views of Mrs. Rustomji, who spoke on this point with an authority superior to that of anyone else in the room. At the same time, it was clear that different speakers viewed this question in the light of differing experience, and the degree and extent of the friendly intercourse between European and Indian society evidently varied greatly in different parts of India.

His proposal that civil officers should cultivate the art of oratory with a view to getting into closer touch with the people had been, as he had expected, rather contemptuously received. He could only wonder why, if oratory was so much despised by Anglo-Indian officers, they persisted in attempting it. It would surely be preferable to pay Bengali babus to do their public speaking for them than to expose their own incapacity for the work in the way in which he had frequently seen and heard them expose it. English people had yet to learn that public speaking, like everything else worth the doing, has to be acquired by study and practice. It was because Englishmen imagined that anybody could "get up and spout" that the level of oratory in English public life generally was so low. Mr. Sawtell concluded by moving a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir M. M. Bhow-naggee for presiding.

The CHAIRMAN having acknowledged the vote of thanks, the proceedings terminated.

COLONEL C. E. YATE, having been unable to speak owing to the closing of the discussion, has written as follows :

With reference to what was said by Mr. McMinn regarding the admission of Indians to English clubs in India, I think something ought to be said on the other side to point out the difficulties Englishmen in India have to contend with in putting this into effect. Indians who belong to the Civil Service, Medical, or any other service in India, are already eligible to belong to United Service clubs, and Mr. McMinn's appeal does not apply to them. It only applies to non-official Indians, merchants, and others, and here the difficulty is to know where to draw the line. English clubs in India are limited in space, and cannot usually accommodate many more than the number of members already using them. Englishmen are few in India—a mere speck, in fact, in the ocean of Indians, just as Indians in England are a mere speck in the ocean of Englishmen. In England Englishmen readily admit Indians to English clubs, but in England there can be no question of Indians swamping out the English members. In India it is just the opposite. Were Indians there to be admitted to English clubs, the English would be swamped out. Where the club-houses are small, to admit Indians in any numbers would be an impossibility, and yet to admit one Indian and not another would lead to much heartburning. The case is not such an easy one, therefore, as it looks on the surface, and instead of the cry for the admission of Indians to English clubs in India, I think the idea should be the admission of English to Indian clubs in India. Why should not Indians take example by what the English do in England and start their own clubs in India, and admit Englishmen to membership, just as the English admit Indians to membership in England? A practical scheme of that sort would be worth all the talk in the world. Englishmen and Indians would then be able to meet on terms of perfect social equality, and the difficulty regarding the interchange of sympathy and ideas between the European and Indian, instead of being well-nigh impracticable, as the lecturer said, would soon melt away. The remedy in this case lies in the hands of the Indians themselves.

What the lecturer has told us regarding the social conditions of Indian life, and the separation between the various races, is only too true. Not only are the Hindoos separated from the Mussulmans, and the English from both, but it is quite possible for an Englishman to pass his whole career in India without ever having had the opportunity of exchanging ideas with any Indian, apart, as the lecturer expressed it, from his own babus and servants. An Englishman under these circumstances naturally fails to know anything of the real India as it is, and misses much that might have charmed him while he was in it. Some of my happiest recollections are connected with the days spent in hunting, shooting, and travelling with my Indian friends; and as to the hospitality of Indian gentlemen to their English friends, it is proverbial. Never have I received greater hospitality than I have in India from high and low, rich and poor.

The want of leisure on the part of the hard-worked English official in India for social amenities with his Indian friends is no doubt a great

drawback, as has been so ably pointed out by Mr. Whitworth; but I cannot agree with Mr. Sawtell that the desire for such social intercourse does not exist on either side, except in a very limited degree. My experience is that my Indian friends have been just as pleased to come to my house as I have been to go to theirs.

I thoroughly agree with what the lecturer has said as to the poverty of eloquence on the part of British officials in India. That is a misfortune which time alone can cure. The whole trend of official life in India tends to writing, not to speaking, and the ordinary English official gets no practice in public speaking. I should like to see district officers and all officials in India encouraged to speak to the public much more than they do, and if their Hindustani is not grammatical enough, they can, at any rate, speak in English and have their speech translated. I cordially approve, too, of the lecturer's remarks as to the good that might be done by printing and publishing in the vernacular the speeches of governors and other high officials on public questions of the day. Publication in English in the Government gazettes is not sufficient where so few know English, and far more should be done in the way of dissemination of the policy of the Government than is done at present. This will doubtless come as education increases. Meanwhile much is happening to bring the English and Indians together. Look at the polo tournaments and other sporting meetings between English and Indian teams now so common throughout India. We had nothing of that sort when I first went out to India. Look at the example set by the M.A.O. College at Aligarh, and the effect of the training now given there on the Mahomedan youth of the country. Look at the Rajkumar colleges throughout India, and the effect of their teaching on the young Chiefs of the various provinces. All this evinces much progress in social intercourse. It is not only in England, where, as we have seen to-day, Indian ladies can even take their place with Englishmen on public platforms, and speak with a charm and grace peculiarly their own, but it is in India itself that social intercourse between English and Indians is becoming more and more general. I have every hope that as time goes on, and the bonds of caste and purdah become gradually relaxed, and Indian ladies become more and more able to take their natural place as hostesses in their own houses, social amenities between the different races will become more and more common, to the general welfare and happiness of all concerned. When we think of the charm exercised by the Begum of Bhopal when entertaining in former years, does it not make us wish for the day when other Indian ladies will be able to imitate her example and entertain their friends in a similar manner? In this, also, the matter lies in the hands of the Indians themselves.

I cannot agree with the lecturer in what he says as to the duty of mitigating the present condition of estrangement lying primarily with the ruling race. In the first place, the expression "ruling race" is a misnomer, as Sir Lepel Griffin so well pointed out. Of all the rulers in India, the number of Indians who rule far exceeds the number of British. The Tehsildar is the embodiment of rule in the eyes of the cultivator, and even the district officer as well may be an Indian; while the judge is

far oftener Indian than English. Secondly, the duty of making the first advance rests just as much with the Indian as with the English, and when the day comes in which both can meet in the family circle on equal terms, I feel sure that any estrangement there may be will rapidly disappear.

## ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on July 16, at 3.15 p.m. Lord Reay, G.C.I.E., LL.D., was in the chair, and among those present were: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Lesley C. Probyn, Mr. T. H. Thornton D.C.L., C.S.I., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Colonel Yate, C.M.G., C.S.I., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Martin Wood, and Dr. Pollen, C.I.E.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted, after a short discussion, in which Lord Reay, Mr. T. H. Thornton, Sir Lepel Griffin, and Mr. Martin Wood took part.

The three retiring members of Council were duly re-elected, and in addition the following gentlemen were added as members of Council:

Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E.

Colonel Yate, C.M.G., C.S.I.

Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E.

Dr. John Pollen, LL.D., C.I.E.

Mr. Abdul Majid, B.A., LL.B., of Christ's College, Cambridge, was duly elected a member of the Association.

On the proposal of Sir Lepel Griffin, seconded by Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, Lord Reay was unanimously re-elected President of the Association for the ensuing year.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA  
ASSOCIATION, 1905-1906.

THE report and accounts of the East India Association for the year 1905-1906 are now submitted by the Council.

The event of the past year which certainly both appealed most strongly to the mass of the Indian population and will be longest remembered by them was the tour of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. Covering, as it did, an extent of country far greater than was possible in the state of communications thirty years ago, when King Edward as Prince of Wales made a similar journey, it serves as an illustration of the immense progress which has been made during that period in the extension of railways and other facilities for reaching hitherto landlocked areas. Though the tour was, unfortunately, owing to a failure of the monsoon, to some extent curtailed, yet the royal visitors were enabled to penetrate to places inaccessible in the tour of 1875-1876. In the case of Upper Burma, it even embraced a tract which in 1876 was still outside the limits of the Empire. In almost every area of importance, from the Khyber Pass to Mysore, and from Karachi to Mandalay, the people were able to see, and to express by their acclamations their loyalty to, the person of their Emperor as represented by his heir. India has not passed

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beyond the stage in which, to the bulk of its people, the personality of the Sovereign is the only real conception which they have of a supreme government.

In parts of the country the year will be associated with less happy memories in the severe scarcity, amounting in places to famine, which is indicated by the fact that, during the present summer, the numbers receiving daily relief in one form or another have exceeded half a million for a short period. Here again, however, there is a reminder of the progress of the last thirty years, in respect of the organization of famine administration ; for numbers such as these would in 1876 have connoted a famine of the first order, whilst nowadays they stand for only a comparatively slight scarcity.

The controversy which raged over the question of Army administration was probably known to exist only by the smallest fraction of Indians, and it was one in which still fewer took any serious interest. Such interest as there was in Indian circles would seem to have centred not so much round the merits of the question as on the unusual spectacle of a serious difference of opinion amongst the highest powers of the Government, ending in the discomforture, at the hands of the Secretary of State, of the Viceroy. To Indians this cannot but have been an unedifying event, and it was perhaps peculiarly fortunate that the Prince's visit should have served to divert attention from it.

The agitation which followed in parts of Bengal on the constitution of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam is not one which affects other parts of India, and it would be ridiculous to suppose, with some of the opponents



of partition, that the separation of Bengal into two administrations of precisely similar nature can create any general alarm or apprehension of an infringement of rights and liberty.

The use of the Swadeshi movement as an instrument of political agitation is an unfortunate sign that the lesson of the rise of Japan has not been appreciated by India. True, Swadeshi, in the sense of strenuous endeavours to make India self-supporting, and to develop to the utmost her vast natural resources, as has been done in the case of Japan, is, as Lord Minto has pointed out, a policy fraught with nothing but good. The attempt to prohibit the use of English manufactures when their place cannot be taken by those of the country cannot possibly succeed or bring anything but discredit on its authors.

To turn to the affairs of the East India Association, the Council have to record the election of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar as a Vice-President, and the acceptance by Lord Curzon of a Life-Membership of the Association. On the other hand, the lamented death of Mr. T. Durant Beighton has deprived the Association of one of its most active and capable members. It is satisfactory to note that the three first papers read during the past session were contributed by Indian gentlemen. All of them were of great interest and marked by considerable ability. Those who were present at the reading of the paper by Shaikh Abdul Qadir on "Young India: its Hopes and Aspirations" cannot have failed to be struck by the tact with which the chair was filled by the Hon. Mr. Justice Tyebji, a gentleman whose name will always be connected with the movement for improving education amongst the Mahomedans of

Western India. In inviting the reading of a paper by the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale on "Self-government in India," the Council have sought to give an opportunity for the statement of the views of the extreme party of Indian reform by a well-qualified representative. Mr. Thorburn's suggestive paper on "An Indian Militia for India's Defence" is appropriate at a time when army reorganization is so much in evidence. The closing lectures of the session are by Mr. Arthur Sawtell on "Some Unofficial Impressions of India," and by Mr. Abdul Majid on "The Modern History of Egypt."

The following papers have been read before the Association during the past session :

Monday, February 19, 1906. Shaikh Abdul Qadir, B.A., "Young India: its Hopes and Aspirations." The Hon. Mr. Justice Tyebji in the chair.

Monday, March 5, 1906. A. Yusuf Ali, Esq., M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.), I.C.S., "Civic Life in India." The Right Hon. Sir Alfred Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., in the chair.

Monday, March 26, 1906. S. M. Mitra, Esq., M.R.A.S., "The Partition of Bengal and the Bengali Language." Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

The following members of Council retire by rotation. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election :

Sir H. S. Cunningham, K.C.S.I.

Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I.

Sir G. S. V. Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E.

The following have been elected members of the Association :

Dr. E. M. Modi.

H.H. The Maharaja Cooch Behar.

M. Shakir Ali.

Sir F. S. Lely, K.C.I.E.

Three members have resigned their membership : Sir S. C. Bayley, K.C.I.E., Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., and Dr. Duka ; and the Council regret to announce the death of Mr. M. H. Nazar.

Receipts for the year, including balance at bankers and in hand, £449 12s. 2d., expenditure, £388 6s. 4d., and balance at bankers and in hand, £61 5s. 10d.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

INDIA—MILITIA FOR DEFENCE—NATIVE  
ADMINISTRATION.

SIR,

Two papers have lately been read before the East India Association which I consider deserve to be prominently noticed in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*: one\* by a retired member of the Civil Service, which may be considered the old school of Indian politics; and the other† by the Hon. G. K. Gokhale (C.I.E.), a representative of the new. The former appears not to go far enough and the latter too far, or, at all events, too fast.

Mr. Thorburn's paper dealt with the subject of an Indian Militia for India's national defence, and was published in the July number of this Magazine. The title seems to me to be a misnomer, for, far from applying to India generally, it is concerned only with the Punjab and the defence of the North-Western Frontier against a possible Russian attack. As far as the latter is concerned, I do not wish to raise any objection, but there underlies it the wider-reaching question of Indian finance on the whole. Were it not for the great and increasing cost of the army in India, the Finance Minister would lie on a bed of roses, and there would be ample room not only for remission of taxation in cases where the shoe now pinches, but there would be a surplus that could be applied to still further remission and to the improvement of the resources of the country by extending irrigation and bettering the means of communication. But to call a Militia for the Punjab and the North-Western Frontier one for India is, as already said, a misnomer. India has other frontiers besides that on the north-west, and these require to be defended, if not against Russia, against comparatively wild and uncivilized tribes that are capable of doing much mis-

\* See our July issue.

† See this paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

chief by, to use a Shakesperian term, *excursions and alarums* against the more peaceful portions of the country and its inhabitants. This question deserves consideration from those who have not become, from long association with it, part and parcel of its limited concerns, and thus form a narrow view of the requirements of the country as a whole. Why should there not, then, be a Militia to guard the North-Western Provinces and Oude against trouble on the frontier of Nepaul, and the same in Northern and Eastern Bengal, to keep the peace in the direction of Assam and the north-east? Why should Khandesh and Gujarát, among other regions, not be prepared against possible, although improbable, disturbances among the Bheels of the Vindhya and Sátpoora Hills? To go further, could not the Indian exchequer be substantially relieved of a large portion of the cost of keeping up a regular army for the mere purpose of garrisoning a peaceful country, which could never be exposed to attack from any foreign enemy, and therefore requires no more or more thoroughly trained troops than such as are necessary for the purposes of police and the maintenance of internal order? There are already in existence local corps, such as the Maiawara Battalion in Rajputána, the old Coolie Corps in Ahmadabad (now, I think, disbanded), and the Bheel Corps in Khandesh, which with some increase and improved discipline would be quite competent to carry out the smaller purpose now indicated. If such local corps, or the improved armed or military police that are no doubt kept up in other parts of India, were substituted for the garrisons now supplied by detachments from the regular army, there would be a great relief given to the Imperial finances, and that relief could be made available for the more general purposes indicated above, and especially for that of more general education which was prominently brought forward by Mr. Gokhale.

On the whole, then, it may be taken as demonstrated that Mr. Thorburn in his paper hardly touched the fringe of a large question, for the discussion of which an excellent

opportunity was afforded, and on which I hope the East India Association will soon provide another.

In the paper read by Mr. Gokhale it appears to me that, in accordance with the views of the National Indian Congress which chiefly represents those of the educated classes among the Hindoos, he has made the mistake of commencing at the top instead of the bottom. He has forgotten, or at all events has not taken into account, those higher moral qualifications required by those who take part in the administration of an Empire, and in which even the most bigoted member of the Congress must admit the native Indian community is greatly deficient. These qualifications are to a great extent inherited by the members of the English Civil Service from their ancestors, and fail even among the most highly University and College educated of the Congress, chiefly in consequence of the deplorable ignorance of the mothers of the people. The mistake is made of thinking that an educated native who is wanting in such moral qualifications is fitted, *ipso facto*, from his education in literary acquirements, to take part without any training whatever in the duties involved in the higher offices of the administration. But even the most highly educated *alumni* of the English or foreign Universities who may enter the ranks of the Civil Service do not aspire to become at once Commissioners of divisions or provinces, or even Collectors and Magistrates of districts, without the preliminary training given by experience in actual superintending work in the lower grades of the service. This, however, is a matter that a Congressman would generally scorn to discuss, as he would scorn to discuss a differentiation between Englishmen and natives of the country in that of pay on account of the less expensive method of living of the latter. Not only this, but the highly educated native, aiming, as he considers himself entitled to, at high office and high pay at once, would consider himself degraded by the offer of a lower appointment (with comparatively little more than a living wage) in which he would gain that practical knowledge of

the duties of administration acquired by every civilian before he rises to higher and more responsible posts.

Having discussed the general points of the two papers mentioned, it does not appear necessary to enter into detail with regard to such questions as the simultaneous examination in England and India of candidates for entrance into the service, or that of the larger admission of natives into the commissioned ranks of the army. As I have already mentioned in the pages of this Magazine, my motto in all such matters is the old but wise one of *festina lente*.

A. ROGERS.

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#### THE OPIUM QUESTION IN INDIA.

SIR,

I hope my article\* on the Opium Question will be widely read. For years I have been doing my best to induce the people of England to take some practical interest in the peasantry of India, who die in their millions from preventable diseases. But the people of this country, while ignoring my appeal for the improvement of the water-supply and the development of dairy farming in India under proper conditions, take up the ignorant cry against opium! For one life lost by opium-eating in India, tens of thousands of little children, and of adults old and young, are annually killed by drinking impure water and milk. "In India milk is largely consumed in the liquid form by well-to-do natives, and it is also manufactured into numerous edible products," the most important of which is *dahi* (curdled milk). And yet to this day the milch buffaloes are the village scavengers, "eating human excrement with disgusting avidity." The milk produced under these conditions has "a rank unwholesome flavour, and, besides, is invariably adulterated or diluted with impure water, while ample opportunity is afforded for the introduction of the germs of contagious diseases, the most dreaded of which is enteric fever."

\* See our last issue (July), pp. 42-51.

The quotations which I have given are taken from an interesting article in *Blackwood's Magazine* of February, 1898, which was written by a well-known expert, Professor Robert Wallace, of Edinburgh, and they emphasize all that I have said and written on the subject.

D. N. REID.

#### INDIAN BUDGET 1906-1907.\*

THE figures for the past three years, reduced to their simplest form, and excluding capital, debt, and remittance transactions, are as follows: The revenue for 1904-1905 was £84,812,971; expenditure £81,356,905; the surplus being £3,456,066. For the year 1905-1906 the revenue was £84,829,500, and the expenditure £83,073,800, and the surplus was £1,755,700. For 1906-1907 the revenue is estimated at £86,495,100, and the expenditure £85,621,000, leaving a surplus of £874,100.

It is anticipated that the receipts from land revenue will be considerably better than those of the last year. In the United Provinces the agricultural prospects are also encouraging. In Bombay also, in spite of the adverse conditions prevailing in the Deccan districts, recovery to the extent of Rs. 21,92,000 is anticipated. It is also expected that in Burma, where much new land is being brought under settlement, and also in Madras and the Punjab, there will be considerable improvements. With regard to opium, it was estimated that the average price of last year would be Rs. 1,400 a chest, but the actual average was Rs. 1,434. The sales in February and March, however, yielded rates of only Rs. 1,343 and Rs. 1,258 respectively, and for next year the average may be Rs. 1,125. This involves a decrease of 111½ lakhs of rupees as compared with the revised estimate of the current year. On the other hand, there may be a small recovery in Malwa,

\* Indian Financial Statement for 1906-1907, and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General thereon, House of Commons, May 9, 1906.



where the weighments during 1905-1906 had been the lowest on record, and the net falling off is estimated at £659,400. The consumption of salt, and the receipts from the salt duty, have continued to expand in a very gratifying manner, and a further increase is expected during the year to the extent of 12 lakhs of maunds, being an increase of revenue of £63,300. An increase is also expected under stamps and excise and other items. With respect to expenditure, there is anticipated an increase of £287,300 on direct demands on the revenue, £1,140,600 under salaries and expenses of civil departments, £421,500 on other public works, and £406,400 under army service.

It is proposed that the surplus should be devoted to the following objects: For the reform of the police in accordance with the approved recommendations of the Police Commission the principal objects of which will be improved scale of pay for the superior officers, the recruitment of a new class of officers to be termed deputy-superintendents. Further recruitment of sub-inspectors, the formation of Provincial Departments of Criminal Investigation, and reforms in the force of Madras, Calcutta, and Rangoon. The grant will be apportioned between the various provinces—viz., Madras,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs; Bombay,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ; Bengal, 4; Eastern Bengal and Assam,  $2\frac{1}{4}$ ; United Provinces,  $3\frac{1}{4}$ ; Punjab,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ; Burma,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ; Central Provinces,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ; Minor Provinces, 1. There will also be grants for agricultural development and research, and there will be a small sum of 5 lakhs a year for education, half of which will be applied to technical education, and the remainder to the education of Europeans and Eurasians. The grant for technical education is to be allotted as follows: Bombay, Rs. 1,67,000; Bengal, Rs. 35,000; United Provinces, Rs. 30,000; Central Provinces, Rs. 22,000.

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ENGLAND, TIBET, AND CHINA.

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND CHINA  
RESPECTING TIBET, SIGNED AT PEKING, APRIL 27, 1906.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED THE CONVENTION BETWEEN THE  
UNITED KINGDOM AND TIBET, SIGNED AT LHASA,  
SEPTEMBER 7, 1904.

*(Ratifications exchanged at London, July 23, 1906.\*)*

WHEREAS His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and His Majesty the Emperor of China are sincerely desirous to maintain and perpetuate the relations of friendship and good understanding which now exist between their respective Empires ;

And whereas the refusal of Tibet to recognise the validity of or to carry into full effect the provisions of the Anglo-Chinese Convention of March 17, 1890, and Regulations of December 5, 1893, placed the British Government under the necessity of taking steps to secure their rights and interests under the said Convention and Regulations ;

And whereas a Convention of ten articles was signed at Lhasa on September 7, 1904, on behalf of Great Britain and Tibet, and was ratified by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India on behalf of Great Britain on November 11, 1904, a declaration on behalf of Great Britain modifying its terms under certain conditions being appended thereto ;

His Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the Emperor of China have resolved to conclude a Convention on this subject and have for this purpose named Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :—

His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland :

Sir Ernest Mason Satow, Knight Grand Cross of the  
Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and

\* Presented to Parliament August, 1906 (Treaty Series, No. 9, 1906).

Saint George, His said Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of China ;

and His Majesty the Emperor of China :

His Excellency Tong Shoa-yi, His said Majesty's High Commissioner Plenipotentiary and a Vice-President of the Board of Foreign Affairs ;

who having communicated to each other their respective full powers and finding them to be in good and true form have agreed upon and concluded the following Convention in six articles :

ARTICLE I.—The Convention concluded on September 7, 1904, by Great Britain and Tibet, the texts of which in English and Chinese are attached to the present Convention as an annexe, is hereby confirmed, subject to the modification stated in the declaration appended thereto, and both of the High Contracting Parties engage to take at all times such steps as may be necessary to secure the due fulfilment of the terms specified therein.

ARTICLE II.—The Government of Great Britain engages not to annex Tibetan territory or to interfere in the administration of Tibet. The Government of China also undertakes not to permit any other foreign State to interfere with the territory or internal administration of Tibet.

ARTICLE III.—The concessions which are mentioned in Article IX. (d) of the Convention concluded on September 7, 1904, by Great Britain and Tibet are denied to any State or to the subject of any State other than China, but it has been arranged with China that at the trade marts specified in Article II. of the aforesaid Convention Great Britain shall be entitled to lay down telegraph lines connecting with India.

ARTICLE IV.—The provisions of the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and Regulations of 1893 shall, subject to the terms of this present Convention and annexe thereto, remain in full force.

ARTICLE V.—The English and Chinese texts of the present Convention have been carefully compared and found to correspond, but in the event of there being any difference of meaning between them the English text shall be authoritative.

ARTICLE VI.—This Convention shall be ratified by the Sovereigns of both countries, and ratifications shall be exchanged at London within three months after the date of signature by the Plenipotentiaries of both Powers.

In token whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed this Convention, four copies in English and four in Chinese.

Done at Peking this twenty-seventh day of April, one thousand nine hundred and six, being the fourth day of the fourth month of the thirty-second year of the reign of Kuang-hsü.

ERNEST SATOW.

(Signature and Seal of the Chinese Plenipotentiary.)

ANNEXE.

Convention between the Governments of Great Britain and Tibet, signed at Lhasa on September 7, 1904.

Declaration signed by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India on behalf of the British Government and appended to the ratified Convention of September 7, 1904.

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREAT  
BRITAIN AND TIBET.

Whereas doubts and difficulties have arisen as to the meaning and validity of the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890, and the Trade Regulations of 1893, and as to the liabilities of the Tibetan Government under these agreements; and Whereas recent occurrences have tended towards a disturbance of the relations of friendship and good understanding which have existed between the British Government and the Government of Tibet; and Whereas

it is desirable to restore peace and amicable relations, and to resolve and determine the doubts and difficulties as aforesaid, the said Governments have resolved to conclude a Convention with these objects, and the following articles have been agreed upon by Colonel F. E. Younghusband, C.I.E., in virtue of full powers vested in him by His Britannic Majesty's Government and on behalf of that said Government, and Lo-Sang Gyal-Tsen, the Ga-den Ti-Rimpoche, and the representatives of the Council, of the three monasteries, Se-ra, Dre-pung, and Ga-den, and of the ecclesiastical and lay officials of the National Assembly on behalf of the Government of Tibet.

I. The Government of Tibet engages to respect the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and to recognise the frontier between Sikkim and Tibet, as defined in Article I. of the said Convention, and to erect boundary pillars accordingly.

II.—The Tibetan Government undertakes to open forthwith trade marts to which all British and Tibetan subjects shall have free right of access at Gyantse and Gartok, as well as at Yatung.

The Regulations applicable to the trade mart at Yatung, under the Anglo-Chinese Agreement of 1893, shall, subject to such amendments as may hereafter be agreed upon by common consent between the British and Tibetan Governments, apply to the marts above mentioned.

In addition to establishing trade marts at the places mentioned, the Tibetan Government undertakes to place no restrictions on the trade by existing routes, and to consider the question of establishing fresh trade marts under similar conditions if development of trade requires it.

III.—The question of the amendment of the Regulations of 1893 is reserved for separate consideration, and the Tibetan Government undertakes to appoint fully authorized delegates to negotiate with representatives of the British Government as to the details of the amendments required.

IV.—The Tibetan Government undertakes to levy no

dues of any kind other than those provided for in the tariff to be mutually agreed upon.

V.—The Tibetan Government undertakes to keep the roads to Gyantse and Gartok from the frontier clear of all obstruction and in a state of repair suited to the needs of the trade, and to establish at Yatung, Gyantse, and Gartok, and at each of the other trade marts that may hereafter be established, a Tibetan Agent who shall receive from the British Agent appointed to watch over British trade at the marts in question any letter which the latter may desire to send to the Tibetan or to the Chinese authorities. The Tibetan Agent shall also be responsible for the due delivery of such communications and for the transmission of replies.

VI.—As an indemnity to the British Government for the expense incurred in the despatch of armed troops to Lhasa, to exact reparation for breaches of treaty obligations, and for the insults offered to and attacks upon the British Commissioner and his following and escort, the Tibetan Government engages to pay a sum of five hundred thousand pounds—equivalent to rupees seventy-five lakhs—to the British Government.

The indemnity shall be payable at such place as the British Government may from time to time, after due notice, indicate whether in Tibet or in the British districts of Darjeeling or Jalpaiguri, in seventy-five annual instalments of rupees one lakh each on the 1st January in each year, beginning from the 1st January, 1906.

VII.—As security for the payment of the above-mentioned indemnity, and for the fulfilment of the provisions relative to trade marts specified in Articles II., III., IV. and V., the British Government shall continue to occupy the Chumbi Valley until the indemnity has been paid and until the trade marts have been effectively opened for three years, whichever date may be the later.

VIII.—The Tibetan Government agrees to raze all forts and fortifications, and remove all armaments which

might impede the course of free communication between the British frontier and the towns of Gyantse and Lhasa.

IX.—The Government of Tibet engages that, without the previous consent of the British Government—

(a) No portion of Tibetan territory shall be ceded, sold, leased, mortgaged or otherwise given for occupation, to any Foreign Power ;

(b) No such Power shall be permitted to intervene in Tibetan affairs ;

(c) No representatives or agents of any Foreign Power shall be admitted to Tibet ;

(d) No concessions for railways, roads, telegraphs, mining or other rights, shall be granted to any Foreign Power, or to the subject of any Foreign Power. In the event of consent to such concessions being granted, similar or equivalent concessions shall be granted to the British Government ;

(e) No Tibetan revenues, whether in kind or in cash, shall be pledged or assigned to any Foreign Power, or to the subject of any Foreign Power.

X.—In witness whereof the negotiators have signed the same, and affixed thereunto the seals of their arms. Done in quintuplicate at Lhasa, this 7th day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and four, corresponding with the Tibetan date, the 27th day of the seventh month of the Wood Dragon year.

This Convention was ratified by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council at Simla on the eleventh day of November, A.D., one thousand nine hundred and four.

*Declaration signed by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and appended to the ratified Convention of 7th September, 1904.*

His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, having ratified the Convention which was concluded at Lhasa on 7th September, 1904, by Colonel Young-

husband, C.I.E., British Commissioner for Tibet Frontier Matters, on behalf of His Britannic Majesty's Government; and by Lo-Sang Gyal-Tsen, the Ga-den Ti-Rimpoche, and the representatives of the Council, of the three monasteries Se-ra, Dre-pung, and Ga-den, and of the ecclesiastical and lay officials of the National Assembly, on behalf of the Government of Tibet, is pleased to direct as an act of grace that the sum of money which the Tibetan Government have bound themselves under the terms of Article VI. of the said Convention to pay to His Majesty's Government as an indemnity for the expenses incurred by the latter in connection with the despatch of armed forces to Lhasa, be reduced from Rs. 75,00,000 to Rs. 25,00,000; and to declare that the British occupation of the Chumbi valley shall cease after the due payment of three annual instalments of the said indemnity as fixed by the said Article, provided, however, that the trade marts as stipulated in Article II. of the Convention shall have been effectively opened for three years as provided in Article VI. of the Convention; and that, in the mean time, the Tibetans shall have faithfully complied with the terms of the said Convention in all other respects.

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AGREEMENT IN REFERENCE TO MONEY ORDERS BETWEEN  
THE GENERAL POST OFFICE OF ENGLAND AND THE  
GENERAL POST OFFICE OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES  
SO FAR AS IT CONCERNED THE GENERAL PUBLIC.\*

ARTICLE I.—Between the *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland* on the one part, and the *Dutch East Indies* on the other part, there shall be a regular exchange of Money Orders.

ARTICLE II.—The Money Order service between the contracting countries shall be performed exclusively by the agency of offices of exchange. On the part of the *United Kingdom* the office of exchange shall be the Money

\* Parliamentary Paper, Cd. 3011, 1906.



Order Department, General Post Office, London, and on the part of the *Dutch East Indies* the General Post Office of *Batavia*.

ARTICLE III.—The Post Offices of the two contracting countries shall have the power to fix, by mutual agreement, the maximum amount for single Money Orders issued in their respective countries. This maximum shall not, however, exceed 20*l.* or the nearest practical equivalent to that sum in the money of the country of issue.

ARTICLE IV.—The Post Offices of the *United Kingdom* and the *Dutch East Indies* shall each have power to fix, from time to time, the rate of commission to be charged on all Money Orders they may respectively cause to be issued; such power to include a right to fix the rate of exchange between the issuing office and the remitter. The commission, together with any profit that may arise from the rate of exchange, shall belong to the issuing office; but the *British* Post Office shall pay to the Post Office of the *Dutch East Indies* one half of one per cent. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.) on the amount of Money Orders drawn by it on the *Dutch East Indies*, and the Post Office of the *Dutch East Indies* shall make a like payment to the *British* Office for Money Orders drawn by it on the *United Kingdom*. Each Office shall inform the other what commission it may determine to levy and what alterations it may from time to time make in that commission.

ARTICLE V.—In the accounts between the two chief offices, the conversion of the money of the two countries shall be made in accordance with the average rate of exchange, which, until otherwise mutually agreed to, shall be taken at 12 florins 10 cents to the pound sterling.

ARTICLE VI.—In the payment of Money Orders to the public, no account shall be taken of any fraction of a penny or of a cent.

ARTICLE VII.—The applicant for every Money Order shall be required to furnish, if possible, the full surname and Christian name (or at least the initial of one Christian

name) both of the remitter and of the payee, or the name of the firm or company who are the remitters or payees and the address of the remitter and payee. If, however, a Christian name or initial cannot be given, an Order may nevertheless be issued *at the remitter's risk*.

ARTICLE VIII.—In the event of a Money Order mis-carrying or being lost, a duplicate shall be granted by the Post Office of the country where the original Order was payable, provided that the application be made within the period and in accordance with the rules adopted by such office.

In all such cases the office which issued the duplicate shall be authorized to demand an additional commission, unless there is reason to believe that the original Order has been lost in transmission through the post.

ARTICLE IX.—Each office shall be authorized to repay the amount of a Money Order to the remitter on learning from the other office that the sum has not already been paid in due course, and that the latter office authorizes the repayment.

ARTICLE X.—Orders shall be payable in each country for twelve months after the expiration of the month of issue. The amounts of all Money Orders not paid before the expiration of that term shall revert to and remain the property of the administration of the country of issue.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GEORGE ALLEN, 156, CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON,  
1906.

1. *India under Royal Eyes*, by H. F. PREVOST BATTERSBY, author of "In the Web of War," "The Plague of the Heart," etc. All who have taken an interest in the recent visit of the Prince of Wales to India will peruse this work with extreme pleasure. The letter-press is excellent, and the numerous illustrations of persons, places, scenes, and incidents give a charm to the whole book. As the well-known author tells us, "it offers a picture of India which but a score of men in a generation have a chance of seeing—a picture of the old romantic, magnificent India which it is very possible may never be again in view." "How different in her office hours India is from the bedizened reveller we met in the streets one had now and again an opportunity of discovering, and it is hoped that in a part of this book some use of that opportunity may be discerned. The more serious aims of it have, for the readers' convenience and avoidance, been, as far as possible, consigned to its concluding chapters. These chapters enter upon the Bond of Language, the Partition of Bengal, the New Army, Lord Kitchener's Reforms, the Silladar Cavalry, and the Educational Outlook. In reference to the latter, the following expressions of opinion are worthy of serious consideration :

"We are manufacturing discontent in India, and we are manufacturing it by means of education. Nor is the discontent of the sort for which might be felt any satisfaction, the unsatisfied aspiration which may be thought divine. It is a discontent, not with conditions, but with their personal application ; not with the limitation of opportunity, but of rewards. To appreciate the position, the different relation of education to life at home and in India must be understood. In England education is regarded as an end,

in India almost wholly as a means to one. In England the educated for a special purpose form only a small proportion of the educated population ; in India they practically compose the whole of it. Every boy who proceeds to the higher schools and colleges does so with the set purpose of obtaining employment—Government employment preferably—as a direct return for his labours. The educated Indian public may thus be said almost entirely to consist either of appointed or of disappointed men, with the proportion of the latter every year increasing, according as the output of scholars and graduates enlarges, with no corresponding expansion of offices. It was a constant source of anything but agreeable surprise to discover that the humble functionary deputed in the Native States to look after our mere epistolary requirements was in most instances a Bachelor of Arts. But the B.A. is already such a common object along the highways of learning that in the more considerable cities you may pick up as many specimens of him as you require to perform the functions of a clerk at the humble emolument of a pound a month. Yet you will have to pay seven times that wage for an ordinary shorthand writer, with no pretensions to scholarship. Still, the obvious advantages of the more commercial training have not operated, and apparently are not likely to operate, in reducing the crop of unemployable graduates. The classes are different from which the competitors are drawn, and the man who craves for the sheltered course of departmental promotion and the beckoning distance of a pension has, as a rule, not only an inherited aversion to trade, but lacks all business instincts and aptitudes. There seems, therefore, no diversion to be hoped from other channels of attraction, and nothing appears likely to result from the natural processes of discouragement. The only too apparent disproportion of effort to reward has shown no tendency to diminish the accumulation of effort."

" Now, the most salient impression one derives from a brief acquaintance with the average Indian graduate's mind

is that it only moves completely at ease amid quotation marks. It swings from one to the other of these with the expertness of an acrobat among trapezes, but, without an inverted comma to lay hold of, its flight drops heavily to earth. It may be able to correct your reference to an obscure Elizabethan poet, but it finds a difficulty in forming any original literary opinions. The most retarding influence on its cultivation is really its prodigious memory. It tries to acquire everything by rote. It was proposed a few years ago to permit a candidate for graduation to present himself for examination in one subject at a time, the plain intention being that he should learn each by heart. Even without that assistance to superficiality, he contrives to reduce most of what is intended for education into a system of memorizing. His wonderful English is often a plain proof how merely formal is his proficiency; but in the humours of that English one may easily forget how remarkable an achievement for an Asiatic are even its pedantic absurdities, and it is not for the average Anglo-Indian, with his still queerer treatment of an alien tongue, to laugh at a performance so far transcending the alternative which he is able to achieve.

"Yet his very aptitude seems a reason why the Indian undergraduate should not be trained too exclusively on literature. He is intrinsically too prone to the mental habits which a literary diet breeds; his wonderful memory enables him to evade what a profounder digestion might yield him; the training is not best fitted to develop his rather indefinite personality, and, in the event of his failing to obtain employment on the mere strength of his degree, it leaves him with no very marketable quality with which to start any other sort of calling. It is difficult, indeed, to suggest anything to supply that deficiency because, of course, the careers are not yet there, and their possibilities have scarcely been indicated; but if India comes to have more need of anything from her own children, it will not be of the arts which extend the refinements of life, but of those

which add to its possibility. India has only begun to invoke the assistance of science to extend by modern methods her productive powers, and it is obvious that if the invocation is to be of any value a new and comprehensive department, or at least the very considerable extension of an old one, will be required. There is much still to be discovered, and much in consequence to be taught, concerning methods of cultivation and the best material for crops, and it would be wisdom on the part of the Universities to forestall the clamant hour by qualifying men to take advantage of it when it comes. The training of an experimental science, with all the advantages it offers to memory, and the little that it yields to memory alone, would have a particular value for the Indian mind, and the existence of men prepared to serve the new department might accelerate its creation. There is scarcely a branch of agriculture in India, there is hardly one of her manufactures which has not questions to ask, the adequate answering of which would mean increased profits and increased employment."

In reference to the education of women, the author had the "chance of seeing in the Maharani's Girls' College at Mysore one of the most successful experiments, and of learning the difficulties through which it has to fight its way. It makes somewhat for romance in education when one has to safeguard one's scholars from being kidnapped by their husbands on the way to school, and round these little girls, many of them widows in their early teens, every sort of jealous interference seems to lie in wait; but that appeared only to add to the zest of those who were trying to bring learning within reach of them. So many of India's questions are tied to the future of her women, so much of her inner efforts after social reform are pledged to the amelioration of their lot, such possibilities in the relation of the two races may depend on a new conception of Indian womanhood, that even one's misgivings were interested in the Westernizing of her heart."

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS : MACMILLAN AND Co., 66,  
FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, 1906.

2. *A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama, with an Introductory Sketch of the Dramatic Literature of India*, by MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JNR., A.M., Consul-General of the United States to Siam. The object of this work is to supply to students of Sanskrit literature as complete a catalogue as possible of all Hindoo authors and their writings, in order that they might be able to tell, at a glance, how many manuscripts of each are known, how many additions and translations have been made, and what has been written concerning them. The useful material of this work has been collected for several years by the learned author. The arrangement of names and titles follows the order of the English alphabet. Plays are inserted under the author's name when it is known, and cross-references are given under the titles of his various works ; anonymous are listed under the names by which they are known. There is an admirable introduction upon the Sanskrit drama, in which he says : " In the invention of plots the dramatists show little fertility of imagination ; on the other hand, cleverness is certainly clearly shown in the way in which the details of the plot are worked out and the development of the intrigue is presented. In the majority of cases the plot is somewhat as follows : The hero, who is usually a king or a prince, and already has one or more wives, at the opening of the play suddenly becomes enamoured of the charms of some girl or nymph. Although she is equally in love with him, she is too bashful and modest to let her passion be observed. Hope and fear alternately cheer and dismay both hero and heroine. She confides in some girl friend, he in the jester, who is always a Brahman, but a person of slow intelligence, whose uncouth attempts at wit seem often lacking in every element of humour. The jester, moreover, is a glutton, greedy for money, and, as it is to be expected, an inveterate gossip, always on the watch for some fresh bit of news.

One of the most curious features of the Sanskrit drama, fostered as it was by the Court society of India, which was almost always under the control of Brahman priests, is that this figure of a degraded and besotted Brahman should be allowed to appear as a typical stage figure. In an article written some years ago ('The Origin of the Vidūsaka and the Employment of this Character in the Plays of Harsadeva, in *Jaos* 20' [1899], pp. 338-340) I advanced the theory that such a seeming inconsistency might be due to the fact that the drama had its origin in the religious dances and ceremonies of the common people, who were, of course, largely non-Brahmanic, and was therefore an outgrowth of the many popular religions of India rather than a development of pure Brahminism. In this way the conventional figures, having become in the course of time crystallized into permanent types, were retained when the folk-drama became popular at Court, and thus even Brahman authors did not hesitate to perpetuate the type, though really derogatory to their class. Other stock characters in the plays are the parasite (*vita*), ministers, Buddhist monks and nuns, servants of the harem, dwarfs, mutes, and the female attendants of the king."

"The age of the Sanskrit drama may roughly be given as extending from 400 to 1100 A.D. This period does not, of course, include the earliest efforts at dramatic composition, nor take in a large number of late and inferior plays. Very little is known of the earliest dramatists before Kālidāsa, and none of their compositions, excepting scattered verses, are extant. For example, the poets Bhāsa, Rāmīla, Somīla (or Saumillaka), and the Kariputrās, were well-known and popular playwrights among the Hindoos of Kālidāsa's time, but our knowledge of them is practically confined to their names. (See the prologue to Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, and F. Hall in *Jas. Be.* 28 (1859), p. 28 *seq.* and in the Introduction to his '*Vāsavadattā*,' pp. 14, 15.)"



CROSBY, LOCKWOOD AND SON, LONDON ; RAI SAHIB M. GULAB SINGH AND SONS, LAHORE. 1906.

3. *Hindustani for Every Day*, by COLONEL W. R. M. HOLROYD, M.R.A.S., Fellow of Calcutta University, and of the University of the Punjab, and Director of Public Instruction, Punjab. The object of this excellent work is to impart a sound practical knowledge of the Hindustani language as it is employed in daily life, more especially in the intercourse between Indians and Anglo-Indians. Its accuracy may be relied upon, as the author, not only from his own experience, but also after consultation with the eminent scholar Maulavi Mirza Beg, a Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, went over the work, word by word, through all the Hindustani sentences which the work contains, thus effecting many improvements both in the text and in the notes. The first part contains twelve short chapters on pronunciation, treated in a novel manner ; all difficulties are fully explained, and the chapters are so progressively arranged that the reader may not be required to contend with more than one difficulty at a time. He will be able to pronounce the language in such a manner as to make himself readily understood. Each chapter, after the first two, contains useful sentences of simple construction, composed of words entered at the head of the same or previous chapter. The second part, which consists of thirty-four chapters, and constitutes the main portion of the book, deals with grammar and the construction of sentences. The third part consists of appendices. The first appendix shows the forms used to express various degrees of relationship, and the second contains a note on transliteration in Roman characters. The system adopted is in accordance with that recommended by the Oriental Congress of Geneva in 1894, and also with the system followed by the Government of India for spelling the names of places which have not become well known in an Anglicized form. The whole work is extremely useful to Englishmen in India,

and we most cordially recommend it to every Englishman whose visits or services are in India.

ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, 1906.

4. *Persia by a Persian, being Personal Experiences of Manners, Customs, Habits, Religious and Social Life in Persia*, by REV. ISAAC ADAMS, M.D., author of "Darkness and Daybreak," founder of the Nestorian Colony in Canada. The author of this work gives a very interesting history of himself. He was a poor and destitute Persian boy. He has divided his book into three parts: the first relates his own personal history; his contact with missionary work in Persia; and in the course of many vicissitudes and extraordinary adventures he made his way to the United States of America. Under Christian influences he qualified himself first as a Christian missionary to his native country, and afterwards he took a medical degree in order that he might thereby be more able to carry on the work which he wished to accomplish among his countrymen. His efforts have met with remarkable success. In the second part of the volume he gives a concise history of Persia from the proclamation of Cyrus down to the present time, and details, as no one but a Persian could do, the present condition and needs of the country. In the third part the author gives a short history of the Nestorian Church and its work. There are also numerous well-executed illustrations—a portrait of himself, Exiles to Siberia, Schools—and other interesting subjects, including the manners and customs of the people and other topics, which add a charm to the volume.

The following is an example of his description of the present condition of the Christians in Persia: "It is impossible to adequately picture in words the awful condition in which the Christians live in these parts, so much oppressed by the wild Kurds and the Turks. On my travels there, always accompanied by two or three Turkish soldiers, I had ample opportunity to witness the outrages which Christians must endure. Whenever we had entered an Armenian or

Nestorian village, the soldiers would rush into the houses and act entirely as masters of the place. They demanded food and drink such as they preferred, and their demands must be complied with under all circumstances, or they would become furious, knock down doors, break the windows, slap the inhabitants in the face, shoot the chickens or other domestic animals in the yard, and carry on in a brutal manner. At one place they shot a little child, playing in the sand, just for a joke. When once we arrived at the village, late at night, they demolished the doors which were not immediately opened at their call, compelled most of the men in the village to arise from their beds and go out and cut grass in the fields for their horses. In the meantime they themselves entered the houses and did what they pleased with the women. At one time they entered a house while a male inhabitant was watering their horses. They found a woman with children lying asleep in bed. They picked up the bedding, together with the persons in it, carried all out of doors, emptied the mother and her children out into the yard, and after taking the bed back into the house, slept on it themselves. Everywhere in the Kurdistan Mountains the dwellings of the Nestorians are of the humblest kind. Many houses (but they do not deserve that name) are built half underground on account of the extreme severity of the winters, the snow there lying 5 feet deep on the level. In order to keep warm during this season people live in one compartment, together with their animals, in a state of filth that beggars description. But there is another reason for this. The winters being very long, the animals owned by these people are solely depending upon the stock of hay laid in. This hay, as well as the animals, must be kept as near as possible, owing to lawless tribes of Kurds, who are swooping down upon them, foraging their herds, pillaging their goods, and burning their hay when within their reach and unprotected. However, the extortion and oppression by the Government are feared nearly as much as the Kurds."

"These soldiers are called Zaptiehs, and their functions are similar to those of patrolmen in the United States; but there is another kind of Turkish soldiers called Hamidieh, who are a great help to the Zaptieh in oppressing the people. These will seize people at their option, and then promise to release them if they pay them the money they want; if the money is not forwarded, they will be taken to prison. Here they will be penned in a cell full of vermin and filth with twenty-five or thirty other persons, and no water given them to drink but that which Mohammedans have used for their ablutions. The treatment which such poor persons are subjected to is most shocking: (a) Red-hot irons are pressed against different parts of their bodies; (b) they are undressed and beaten into unconsciousness; (c) a collar is thrown over their heads, and they are thus dragged through the streets; (d) they are left without food or drink until starved; (e) they are forced to stand for a long time continuously, and all kinds of filth is poured down over their heads; (f) they are forced to perform 'shaton toppy,' or devil's ring, the result of which is death; hands and feet are tightly bound; they are forced to hold their hands above their heads, whereas a severe torture is administered, and an unspeakable, beastly crime committed; (g) their hair is plucked out by handfuls; (h) they are mutilated and crippled in various ways; (i) they are compelled to stand erect within a box just large enough to admit one person; but the box is beset with sharp steel points on all sides. In this box they must stand for from thirty to forty-eight hours in succession, not being permitted even to attend to wants of nature."

As to the practice of medicine in Persia, he says: "A physician cannot see the faces of his patients. The traveller in the East is often asked to prescribe for the sick, be he actually a physician or not. I have been repeatedly requested to serve in this capacity. The physician, however, labours under a peculiar disadvantage in Persian practice, even if his qualifications are not too carefully

examined ; for, as I have indicated above, he is not permitted to see the face of his female patient, and is thus deprived of one of the most important points in forming a diagnosis. The native doctors require no other diploma to enter the profession of medicine than a supply of infinite assurance. They are generally itinerants who go from village to village and announce their profession on arriving. Extraordinary remedies are given. Having prescribed, the physician decamps before the results become perceptible, aware that a common sequence is death. Fortunately for the practitioners, this result is generally quietly accepted as the fiat of Kismet or Destiny."

"It must be admitted that the most important factor now at work in the missionary field of Persia is one that is largely secular. I refer to the employment of missionary physicians. Persons who do not care to be instructed in the tenets of a faith other than their own are still in need of a physical aid. All may not be in spiritual need, but all, sooner or later, require a physician. If the practitioner be a man of ability, tact and suavity, he acquires a personal influence that necessarily leads to a modification of the opposition to the progress of the missionaries with whom the physician is associated, and important concessions may thus gradually be obtained from those in power."

In reference to Mohammedan women : "It is the policy of the Mohammedans not to open too wide the eyes of women, consequently they have no schools for girls. Among the higher classes even very few ever teach their daughters to read ; consequently there are millions of Mohammedan women who during their whole lives can never take up a book and read, or sit down and write a letter to their friends. Sometimes it happens that a woman's husband has to reside for a time several hundred miles distant from her. In such a case, should she wish to write to him, she will cover her face and go to a priest and tell him what she wants to have written to her husband. He then writes the letter for her, and she pays him for it. When she receives

a letter from her husband, she again has to go to the priest, or someone else that can read, and has it read to her. This shows how very ignorant they are, and no wonder, then, that they are so superstitious. When they go out, it is customary for them to cover their entire body with a large blue wrap, while a linen veil, with small holes in it for the eyes, is worn over the face. These wraps they wear are nearly all of the same colour and the same material, so that when they are out walking many of them cannot be recognised by their own nearest relatives even. Rich and poor appear just the same. When they go to a party—or ladies' reception—we might call it—they paint their faces with a red substance, and blacken their eyes, eyelashes, and eyebrows with black antimony. Many of them colour their fingers and finger-nails, and even their feet, red with henna. They dye their hair also with henna, and plait it in many long braids. They wear necklaces and chains around their necks, and bracelets and glass bangles on their arms. Quite a number of them smoke pipes. Most of the ladies of the higher classes are very idle. They invite each other to parties by turns. Often ten or fifteen of them may be seen in the streets, attended by servants, going to parties. Where women are gathered no men appear, and where men are no women come."

Our space does not permit us to give further quotations from this very interesting volume. We, however, strongly recommend the perusal of the whole work by those who desire to promote civilization in Persia, and to advance education among the people, thereby laying a sure foundation for the maintenance of the peace, the order, and the liberty of this ancient kingdom.

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; 39, PATERNOSTER ROW,  
LONDON, E.C., NEW YORK AND BOMBAY.

5. *Everyday Life among the Head-Hunters, and other Experiences from East to West*, by DOROTHY CATOR. With thirty-four illustrations from photographs. The author tells

her story of travelling, the scenes of men and women, and of places and events, very vividly and with great simplicity. The route to Borneo, its surroundings and their inhabitants, their manners, customs, and talents, all come under notice and review. The following is a portion of her description of the "Head-Hunting country," and its people :

"After a tiring and difficult walk, we arrived at the Romanow town, which consisted of two or three villages, each village, with all its different families living for safety in one very long house, to the chief of which we were taken. It looked like a very long shed, as it was built upon piles 10 or 12 feet from the ground, and had no walls, only a floor made of split bamboos, laid 1 or 2 inches apart, very convenient for lodging no dust and for throwing down any odds and ends you may want to get rid of, and a very high palm-leaf roof, which slanted right down below the floor, and so, unless you were underneath, entirely hid the fact of there being one."

"We were welcomed with great courtesy by the chief, and given the further end of his village, or rather house, to live and sleep in; and as we stood at the top, looking down, a sea of faces met our eyes—men, women, and children, gazing with bated breath on the first white man or woman they had ever seen."

"They had heard of white men, and some of them had seen them, and they certainly were extraordinary enough; but a white woman!—words evidently failed them, as their wide-open mouths and vacant faces testified; and except for our own voices, not a sound broke the dead silence with which those hundreds of eyes watched our every movement. From then to the day we left we had absolutely no privacy. Their various works fortunately called them away sometimes, but they were determined to lose nothing, and I was never without a small audience. I got quite clever at dressing and undressing under a sarong, while they all sat round patiently, watching and longing for the moment when I should drop the sarong, so that they might

see what transformation had been going on. It was all like a very thrilling play to them."

"I found, as we thought, a really private place for bathing in a stream not far off. We pretended to be going in the opposite direction, and then we doubled back when we were out of sight, and Dick sat within calling distance at the top of a small hill between me and the village to keep off all intruders; but it was no good. The natives had hidden themselves most successfully, and only when I had finished crept away through the trees on the opposite side."

"I was a constant excitement to them, and one day when I was sitting in the house, a very old woman could bear no longer the suspense of not knowing whether white skin felt the same as black, so she summoned up all her courage and bore down on me; the other people delighted at her pluck, and thrilled to know the result of her investigation. She came nearer and nearer, in a creepy, squirming way, as if she was treading on hot coals, and when she was quite close she suddenly put out a skinny finger and touched my hand, and then drew back very quickly, as if it had burnt her. I laughed, and my audience all joined in, delighted."

"One-third of the house all up one side was boarded off, and divided into extraordinary little boxes for the women and children. The kitchen and store-room were also there, and the whole place looked very like an untidy hen-house on a large scale. The kitchen was very simple, just a flat stone fireplace, with no means of carrying off the smoke, which was allowed to escape where it liked."

"At night we all slept in one serried row, packed like sardines, the whole way down this hugely long house. I slept at the top, then Dick, then all the other men, quite close up to us, only divided by a mosquito curtain and a shallow step, and our only means of going in and out was by more or less swarming a very thin, nearly perpendicular trunk of a tree, with notches cut in it. This was stuck up



at the extreme end of the house, right away from us, and I shall never forget it, as I was very ill once up there, and picking my way in a half-fainting condition at night over all those sleeping and never-ending men's legs whenever I wanted to get into the air, and the swarming backwards and forwards at the other end is still almost like a nightmare to me."

"This all living together in civilized countries would mean endless rows; but all the time we were living with these Head-Hunters we were struck with their gentleness and the extraordinary peacefulness of their home life. Countries outside the pale of civilization certainly teach us a great deal."

"They have much less vice than we have in many ways. The breaking of the Seventh Commandment was among the Muruts an almost unknown crime, punishable with death."

"In those crowded houses their girls are as safe and sacred as if each of them were under lock and key."

The volume also contains interesting narratives of the author's visit to China and Japan, and residence on the West Coast of Africa. The illustrations are numerous and well executed.

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JOHN LANE; THE BODLEY HEAD, LONDON AND NEW YORK, 1906.

6. *Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle: a Record of Thirteen Years*, by CAPTAIN A. J. R. GLASFURD, of the Indian Army, with numerous illustrations by the author and from photographs. The author of this well-written and beautifully illustrated volume does not go over old ground, but aims at bringing the reader into direct contact at the present time with the surroundings of the Indian sportsman and naturalist, and to lead him into the jungle, with all its fascinating variety of scene and season, hill and plain, where in spirit he may make acquaintance or renew an intimacy with its shy denizens and their habits. To this end the author's effort

has been made to bring out those apparently unimportant details, the light and shade, so to speak, that, apart from the mere gratification of a hunting instinct, goes so far to complete the pleasurable whole of a hunter's wanderings. The illustrations, made by the author himself, possess a value as being essentially correct and strictly true to Nature. The jungle sketches are merely the records of the quiet solitary *shikari*, who, lacking the means or the inclination, or both, for the slaughtering of a large amount of game in a short space of time without the exercise of personal effort or woodcraft, works alone or in the company of a single comrade, and with his simple equipment penetrates to retired spots—the peaceful haunts of game. In this way he was able to trace the habits and daily life of the creatures of the jungle in a way which is denied to those employing more pretentious methods. At sunset and at dawn, by the light of the moon, from the solitary mighty host, or silently treading the undisturbed forest, he discovers and narrates the secrets of the wilderness, and becomes therefore an inmate himself of the wilderness. The chapter titled "Reminiscences of Junglypur," now deserted cantonments of that portion of the Indian Army long known as the Hyderabad Contingent, is peculiarly interesting.

The appendix contains, amongst other interesting matter, a glossary of such Hindustani words as do not bear their own explanation in the text.

The volume is full of useful information, not only to the sportsman, but to the general reader, and the beautiful illustrations add much to the liveliness of the narratives.

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LUZAC AND CO.; GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON.

7. *The Achehnese*, by DR. C. SNONCK HURGRONJE, translated by the late A. W. S. O'SULLIVAN, Assistant Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements, with an Index by R. J. WILKINSON; 2 vols. This work is an interesting collection of lore of every kind regarding the turbulent

inhabitants of Acheh (Achîn), who have given our Dutch neighbours in the East trouble for so long. As far back as 1786 the Englishman Francis Wight reported to the Governor-General of Bengal that they were "rigid and superstitious Mahommedans, sullen, fickle, and treacherous," and would need "a force sufficient to subdue all the chiefs." Although the Dutch war of conquest has, it is alleged, lasted over thirty years, the learned author (whose Arabian studies and journey to Mecca make him a particularly important authority on the custom and law of Mahommedan peoples) points out that the "force sufficient" has never, from various causes, been employed long enough until recently, and that consequently the defeated Achehnese always recommenced the strife on being stirred up by their *teungkus*, or religious teachers. The whole kingdom now, however, acknowledges the rule of the Dutch, and is administered by native chiefs under the sway of the *Gömpeuni*, and we have here an account of the manners and customs that exist within its territories. The first of these volumes—which, though encyclopædic, we cannot do more than review in a few words—includes chapters upon the people, government and justice, calendars, agriculture, domestic life, and law. The last shows the inevitable relation between *addat* (custom) and *hukum* (religious law), so difficult to define, but which plays so large a part in a Mahommedan State. Nothing is made definite about the origin of the people. It is shown to be probable that Hinduism had formerly much influence, though it has left little trace on the customs, and it is also likely that the conversion of Acheh to Islam was from Hindustan also. The people, though jealous of slave blood, have always welcomed strangers, especially Arabs and Klings, and their chief line of princes from 1723 are said to be of Bugis origin. The customs are mainly patriarchal, but signs of former matriarchy remain also. The *gamping*, or village, is the smallest territorial unit, and it is ruled by the *keuchhi*, headman, the *teungku*, religious chief, and the *urëng tuha*,

or elders. The associated *Gampongs* as *Mukims* are swayed by the *Imeums*, and they in turn by the *Uls'ëbalang*, or territorial ruler, nominally a subject of the *Rafa Acheh*, whose power has for long, however, been shadowy. We are told many details about the chiefs and their wars with the Dutch "unbelievers," and the last conflict has given rise to a new epic (*Hikayat prang Gōmpeñni*), of which a sketch is included. The women of Acheh marry earlier than in most Malay countries, and are generally wedded to men of equal birth; interesting accounts are given of the marriage and birth customs. Divorce (*taleuë*) on certain conditions may be procured, but is seldom desired. [On this and many cognate subjects the author falls foul of M. Vanden Berg.] Many Achehnese are practically monogamists, and the position of women is pretty high for the East, as one might expect from a people which has had several Queens among its rulers.

The second volume deals with learning and science, literature, pastimes, and religion. It is shown that, in spite of the power of Islam, heretical mysticism of a Pantheistic nature has had some vogue. Art has never had much influence in Acheh, and the artistic sense is little developed except in the making of silk fabrics. The realm of literature is very fully dealt with, and many *Hikayats* will be read with interest. [The *Hikayat Pochūt Mūhamat*, pp. 88-100, is of some slight historic value.] The native fiction also occupies many pages, and we welcome "the seven-headed elephant." Games come next, and the "games of suggestion" are worth noticing, as are the *Rahebs*, which, in the form of the *Raheb Sudati*, are the most popular forms of entertainment, and descriptions of which fill many pages. The music, costume, native medicine, popular feasts, and processions of the Achehnese are all discussed in this important and painstaking work, which is a valuable and welcome addition to the books in English on the countries of the Malay Archipelago.  
—A. F. S.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.

8. *Things Indian*; being discursive notes on various subjects connected with India. By WILLIAM CROOKE, of the Bengal Civil Service (retired), pp. 544. It would be difficult to review shortly and at all adequately a book dealing with as many subjects of interest as are contained in this encyclopædic work, so it will be best only to indicate its nature. It is a sequel to Dr. Ball's *Things Chinese*, and Professor Chamberlain's *Things Japanese*, and it will be found to be a worthy successor and a valuable guide to persons seeking for information on subjects connected with life in India which are not easily found in other ordinary books of reference. The author points out that as he deals with subjects connected with so large an area, inhabited by so many totally dissimilar races and peoples, he has naturally been forced to rely on many authorities, though trusting to his own knowledge and experience of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the necessary local information. This work, which includes a multitude of articles—to choose but a few subjects at random, "Agriculture," "Barasaul Guns," "Dacorty," "Education," "Johar," "Shikaw," "Towers of Silence," and "Writing"—written in excellent style, will be read with pleasure, and not only the articles themselves, but also the references appended to them, will be found of much value. Colonel D. D. Cunningham and Mr. Vincent A. Smith are thanked by the author for having read the book in proof, and we may congratulate all who had a hand in the publication of so welcome a work.—A. F. S.

9. *Empires and Emperors of Russia, China, Korea, and Japan*, by COUNT VAY DE VAYA AND LUSKOD. It is not easy to see why this well-got-up work is not more interesting. Perhaps it is because it is a translation, or perhaps because it, while partaking of the nature of both, is neither to be counted a book of travel nor a book dealing with royal gossip. The writer, a Hungarian priest, Mon-

signor Vay de Vaya, went in 1902-1903 on a mission connected with the Roman Catholic Church to Russia and the East at a very interesting period, and this book, which contains an epilogue written in view of the Japanese victories, is the result. The most valuable part, perhaps, is the chapter on "Manchuria under Russian Rule," which first appeared in the *Revue de Deux Mondes*, as it deals with the political situation before the Russo-Japanese War. The author praises in his notes on China, as perhaps in duty bound, the Chinese Christians, and in the chapter on Korea lays stress on the anarchy of the Koreans and of their apparent incapacity for self-government. His narrative of travels in China and Japan, particularly the former, contain some descriptive passages, showing his real appreciation of the beauty of scenery, art, and architecture; and, indeed, somehow his chapters give a better indication of the glamour of China than do the books of many more painstaking travellers. The meetings with potentates, which he narrates at length, do not interest us as much. He was impressed by the "simplicity" of the Tsar (who gave him permission to visit Siberia) in the "little hermitage of Alexandrovsky," was received by the Empress Dowager and the "immovable" Emperor in China, and by the Mikado and the kindly Empress in Japan. More notable, as it gives the portrait of a less-known ruler, was his reception by Li-Hsi, the Emperor of Korea. The book is very well illustrated, and many of the author's sketches will be found of artistic work, as well as of interest.—A. F. S.

10. *Sadi's Scroll of Wisdom*, with Introduction, by ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON, C.I.E. This translation is one of the "Wisdom of the East" series, whose object is to be "the ambassadors of goodwill and understanding between East and West, the old world of thought and the new of action." Mr. Wollaston, in his Introduction, gives a very interesting history of this famous Persian poet, and quotes a description of him by a native annalist. He "was

short, and not very handsome. His head was extremely long, truly indicative of a grave and saintly aspect. His dress was eminently simple, consisting of a turban, a long blue gown worn over his undercoat, and a stick in his hand. The character of this venerable bard was highly noble, and becoming a great person. He was extremely courteous and affable to his friends, and generous towards his enemies. In wit he surpassed every author of his age, and his humour was so successful that he could make the most silent and melancholy face laugh in his company. He was a boy among the circle of experienced youths, a sage among a society of divines. In a word, he was an accomplished scholar, an excellent master of pure Persian eloquence, an unsullied instructor of divinity, and a consummate painter of life and manners."

*The Scroll of Wisdom*, or *The Pand Namah*, first ascribed to Sadi about A.D. 1438, is a small volume of poetry, "embodying precepts which would not do discredit to the philosophy of this the twentieth century of the Christian era. Concise and elegant, the work is most popular throughout the length and breadth of the Persian-speaking East. This may indeed well be the case, inasmuch as, in addition to beauty of diction, it is written in a metre which flows in easy cadence, and fixes the words of the poem on the mind. Hence the lines are committed to memory to an extent that is probably not surpassed by any work in the Persian language." Mr. Wollaston adds, "that no translation of *The Scroll of Wisdom* has been published in this country during the last hundred years"; "though in Bombay some twenty years ago an Indian scholar rendered it into English," now out of print. We can only give one quotation, that on

#### CONDEMNATION OF OPPRESSION.

"The world witnesseth desolation owing to failure of justice,  
As it were a beautiful garden from the autumn gale.  
Do not give way to oppression in any case,  
Lest the sun of monarchy suffer decline.

He who raiseth the fire of oppression in the world,  
 Occasioneth a sigh on the part of the people of the land.  
 If a tyrant raiseth a sigh from the soul,  
 The anguish createth a flame over land and water.  
 Do not oppress poor helpless people,  
 Without further thought as to the narrowness of the grave.  
 Be not disposed towards the market-place of oppression ;  
 Be not neglectful of the smoke of men's hearts.  
 O man of haste ! be not an oppressor of humanity,  
 For of a sudden the wrath of God will overtake thee.  
 Do not oppress the poor humble people,  
 For without doubt the tyrant passeth to perdition."

The following is Sadi's prayer :

*"In the Name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate!*  
 "O merciful Being ! take pity on our condition ;  
 For we are captives in the snare of lust !  
 We have no protector save Thee !  
 Thou art the all-sufficient Forgiver of sins to us sinners !  
 Keep us from the path of error ;  
 Forgive us our trespasses, and show us righteousness."

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THACKER, SPINK, AND CO. ; CALCUTTA, 1906.

II. *A History of Assam*, by E. A. GAIT, Indian Civil Service. The author having received great encouragement in tracing the history of this region of country, has dedicated his work to Sir Charles James Lyall. The country grows in interest chiefly from its tea plantations and other industries which have sprung up since its administration by the British Government. Hordes of immigrants of the Mongolian race in Western China entered India through Assam, and settled in Bengal. Like Bengal, large sections of the population are of mixed origin, but there are also "numerous tribes who are almost pure Mongolians, and the examination of their affinities, in respect of physique, language, religion, and social customs, with other branches of the same family, forms one of the most interesting lines of inquiry open to ethnologists." The author, under the guidance of Sir Charles Lyall, then Chief Commissioner, prosecuted his historical researches, and in the course of these inquiries there was discovered "a rock



inscription at Tezpur and five ancient copper-plates, containing records of land grants by bygone Kings, and these, with two similar copper-plates already known, gave a good deal of information concerning the Kings who reigned in the Brahmaputra Valley between the years 800 and 1150 A.D." Additional plates and historical manuscripts were found in other districts, "but the most important results of the inquiries were in connection with the records of Ahom rule. The Ahoms were a tribe of Shāns, who migrated to Assam early in the thirteenth century. They were endowed with the historical faculty in a very high degree, and their priests and leading families possessed *buranjis* (a term used as one of the very few Assamese words which are derived from the Ahom—the literal meaning is 'a store that teaches the ignorant'—*bu* 'ignorant persons'; *ran*, 'teach'; and *ji*, 'store' or 'granary') or histories, which were periodically brought up to date. They were written on oblong strips of bark, and were very carefully preserved and handed down from father to son. The number still in existence is considerable." "The more recent of these *buranjis* are written in Assamese, which was gradually adopted by the Ahoms after their conversion to Hinduism, but the earlier ones in the old tribal language, which is similar to that of other Shān tribes, and is written in a character derived from the Pāli." The author brings his history from prehistoric times down to the present day, and gives an important history of the tea-plant and the improvement of its cultivation and preparation for the market. The author concludes his interesting and exhaustive history as follows: "The benefits which the tea industry has conferred on the province have been many and great. The land most suitable for tea is not adapted to the cultivation of rice, and the greater part of it would still be hidden in dense jungle if it had not been cleared by the tea-planters, who in 1901 paid a land revenue of £41,000 in addition to £5,000 paid as local rates. The gardens gave employment in the same year to more than

600,000 labourers." In consequence of this progress, roads and railways are being constructed, in order to improve and extend communications. To this interesting and well-authenticated history there is a minute index.

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#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Linguistic Survey of India.* Vol. VII. : Indo-Aryan Family; Southern Group; Specimens of the Marāṭhī Language. Compiled and edited by G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. RETD. (Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1905.) This handsome, princely volume has been prepared, under the supervision and responsibility of Mr. Grierson, by Dr. Sten Konow, of Christiania, Norway. There is an admirable Introduction, and a map to illustrate the various dialects of the Marāṭhī language. There is also a "Skeleton Grammar," which will prove exceedingly useful. The printing of the various specimens of the literature are remarkably clear and distinct.

*Archæological Survey of India* (New Imperial Series) : Vol. XXXIII., *Western India*; Vol. VIII., *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part II. (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. London: Quaritch, etc. 1905.) This handsome volume contains very numerous and well-executed illustrations from photographic and lithographic plates of Muslim and Hindoo remains in the vicinity. The Muhammadan remains are so numerous that only a selection could be surveyed and delineated. Dr. Burgess says in his preface: "The ornamental details are so beautiful and interesting that it may be regretted that several of them are not reproduced to larger scales; but financial considerations interposed in this, in the arrangement of some of the details, and in the reproducing of more of the illustrative photographs made for survey." He adds: "This volume completes, I believe, my work for the Government of India." There is also an index to

Vols. VI., VII., and VIII. of the "Archæological Survey of Western India."

*Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, assembled for the Purpose of making Laws and Regulations in 1905.* Vol. XLIII. Published by the authority of the Governor. (Government Central Press, Bombay, 1906.) This large volume contains the proceedings of March 18 and 20 and other documents, with an index and numerous appendices.

*Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, for the Year ending March 31, 1906.* (The Economical Press, Lahore.) This report is divided into two parts, the first consisting of Departmental Notes, Expenditure, Inscriptions, Photographs, and Drawings. Part II. consists of Preservation of Ancient Monuments, Explorations, Epigraphy, and Acquisitions for Museums. The area for the past year is Mathra (United Provinces), Simla-Chamba-State, Kaigrā, Lucknow, Kasia (Gorakhpur District), Sārṇāth Allāhābād, Saton, and Fatehpur.

*The Drahmans and Kayasthas of Bengal*, by Babu Girindran'ath Dutt, B.A., M.R.A.S., M.S.A., author of "The History of the Hatwa Raj," etc. Reprinted from the *Indian Review*. (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) A well-printed, brief, and interesting history of the two chief castes of the educational population of Bengal. It is a praiseworthy effort and a very able endeavour to explore, by patient research, a field left almost still untouched by Oriental scholars. It contains also chapters on the early history of Bengal, the present social condition of the Bengalees, and an earnest appeal to their patriotic sympathies and duties.

*First Steps in Muslim Jurisprudence, consisting of Excerpts from Bākūrat-al-Sa'd of Ibn Abū Zayd, with Arabic Text, English Translation, Notes, and a Short Historical and Biographical Introduction*, by Alexander D. Russell, M.A., LL.B., Chief Magistrate of the Colony of the

Gambia; and Abdullah Al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy, M.A., M.R.A.S., Barrister-at-Law. (Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, 1906.) This well-printed and concise book of about 100 pages will be useful to the English student commencing the study of Arabic, who may be desirous of entering the public service in India or Egypt, and, in a special way, to those in our West Africa Colonies and Protectorates. As the rite of Mālik is almost exclusively observed in the latter regions, a manual of Muslim law from that point of view is of great use. The Arabic text is printed along with the translation, which will be convenient to those whose duties are to administer Muslim law, with respect to such subjects as civil status, marriage, succession, gifts, wills, guardianships, and kindred questions. The manual will also be of much use to those who desire to become acquainted with English legal terms, and, to a certain extent, the English language.

*Music and the Anti-Nautch Movement*, by C. Tirumalaya Naidu, M.R.A.S. (Madras: The Arya Press, 1906.) This is a native argument as to the effect of music and singing, properly guided and purified, on the moral, intellectual, and social faculties, with special reference to the doubtful efforts of the Anti-Nautch movement in India.

*Manual of Colloquial Tibetan*, by C. A. Bell, Indian Civil Service. (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 41, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.) The object of this well-printed book of 450 pages, with an excellent map of Tibet and surrounding regions, compiled from the latest information, and explanations of Tibetan and Mongolian names, is to provide a practical handbook to those who desire to acquire a speedy knowledge of colloquial Tibetan. The written language is useless for conversational purposes. The dialects are numerous—according to the saying, "Every district its own dialect, every Lama his own doctrine"—and the author of the work has very wisely selected that of Lhasa as the most widely spoken and most

correct in speech. The English-Tibetan Vocabulary given in the work contains nearly 10,000 Tibetan words. The honoric words—*i.e.*, the terms used in addressing the higher classes—will be found extremely useful. Rules are also given in each chapter of the grammar to be followed by the student, with corresponding elucidative exercises. There are also numerous other helps to those who wish to acquire a knowledge of the language, or to visit the country, or to enable him to discharge his duties as a public official. We most cordially recommend the work to all those to whom we have referred.

*The Journal of the Siam Society.* Vol. II. (Bangkok. London: Luzac and Co. Leipsic: Otto Harrassowitz. 1906.) The object of this society being "the investigation and encouragement of art, science, and literature in relation to Siam and neighbouring countries," the present volume contains interesting articles on the history of ancient Siam, researches into indigenous law of Siam as a study of comparative jurisprudence, and other kindred subjects; also a concise memoir of eminent Orientalists who were members of the society, and who have recently died.

*The Instruction of Ptah-Hotep and the Instruction of Ké'gemni: The Oldest Books in the World.* Translated from the Egyptian, with an Introduction and Appendix, by BATTISCOMBE G. GUNN. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W., 1906.) This is one of "The Wisdom of the East Series," whose object is to be the means of conveying "good-will and understanding between East and West, the old world of thought and the new of action." The translator, Mr. Gunn, has given a long and exhaustive history of these "Instructions," called "Books." The first, he points out, "has been strangely overlooked by the educated public hitherto, although it would be difficult to over-estimate its importance to literature, as the oldest complete book known to ethics and theology, as the earliest expression of the mystery we name conscience, and to lovers of antiquity as one of the most instructive

and touching relics of a people and a power that once were great and are now brought to nothing." In the Appendix there are the Instruction of Amenemhê't, the King and founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, and a short Bibliography. The work is of great interest and value.

*Pro Armenia*, the fortnightly journal published at 3, Rue de Pondichery, Paris, M. Francis de Presseusé being editor, with M. Anatole France and Jean Janrès as coadjutors, is at least supplying *mémoires pour servir* in its eight quarto pages. The "Informations" constantly being received from its trusted correspondents in Western Asia tell to those who care to read their telegrams and brief notes the incidents and course of the pitiless warfare going on for months past between Tartars and the Armenian communities all round, from Erzeroum to Tiflis. For instance, in the number for August 20 there is an account of a pitched battle lasting two days, fought at Shousha, said to have been "provoked by *les Tartares*." After some scores had been killed the Tartars pleaded for an armistice, the terms of which, as granted by the Armenians, are set out in due legal form; but, having taken breath and obtained reinforcements, the Tartars, when night came, fell upon their victims, who lost 150 killed and wounded; but the Armenians being victorious drove their enemies from the field, burning 200 of their dwellings. This is only a sample, by the way, of the cruel struggles going on for months past, faithfully recorded in *Pro Armenia*, though Western Europe knows little and cares less, while Russia herself is struggling for very life, and her people are being decimated by fusillades in the provinces and bombs in the capital cities.

*Contrasts in the Campaign*, by Various Writers. (Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, London, E.C., 1906.) The object of this very interesting book is to show, from the evidence and experience of missionaries in various fields of labour, among pagans, heathens, idolators, and believers in erroneous religious systems, how men and

women, in adopting Christianity, become altogether changed in their moral habits and actions. Missionaries in British Columbia (among Canadian Indians), in West Africa, in Western India, in Mid China, in Toro, Uganda, in Kashmir, in West Africa, in South India, and in Japan, all tell of satisfactory and encouraging results. The various testimonies are simply and interestingly given, illustrated by neat representations. The contents of the book challenge the objector to missionary work by simply saying *Circumspice*, "come and see" for yourself, and judge by the fruits of missionary work the importance and necessity in advancing civilization, and promoting happiness and well-being.

*The Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893). (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.) Proceedings, May, June, and July, 1906, No. 46. This report contains many interesting papers or lectures on various subjects, especially that on "The Jews and Zionism." It also contains a statement of the objects of the Society, and its rules.

*The Indian Magazine*. (A. Constable and Co., London.) The number for July contains much interesting information, especially in reference to the history and contents of the India Office Library. On the European side there are 49,000 works; on the Oriental side, 31,000, and 10,000 manuscripts.

*Arabic Palæography*. A collection of Arabic texts from the first century of the Hidjra till the year 1000. Edited by B. MORITZ. Large folio, 188 phototypic plates. Size 47 × 33 centimetres. Sole agent outside Egypt, Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig. The aim of this work is to represent the development of the Arabic writing, particularly in manuscripts, based upon the rich material in the Khedivial Library, Cairo. Forty-eight of the plates represent quite a number of magnificent Korans of the Mameluke Beys period, and some Persian, Indian, and Turkish Korans. On account of their splendid ornamentation they are of a

particular interest, and bring rich material for the history of Mohammedan art.

*The Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute.* (Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C., 1906.) The *Journal* of this Institute for July contains a very able and interesting paper by Mr. Lionel Decle on "The Development of our British African Empire." Sir Harry Johnston writes: "Mr. Decle was one of the first Frenchmen to promote a common understanding with Great Britain in the matter of the development of the African Continent, and his remarkable journeys in North-East, South, and Central Africa, and in Madagascar, have at different times thrown much light on the actual condition and future possibilities of these regions." And Mr. Decle himself states: "I can, without boasting, claim to hold the unique position of being the only man who has travelled twice over every portion of our African Empire, from the Cape to the Nile: first at the time when the foundations of the great monument which has since been built up were being laid, and a second time five years later, when its framework had been completed." In his first journey, lasting three years, he devoted a considerable time to the study of the natives, their habits and customs. Five years later, in 1899, Mr. Decle was sent by Mr. Rhodes to study the resources and capabilities of the regions through which his Cape to Cairo railway and telegraph lines were to pass, and his instructions were also to find a route for the railway from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Victoria Nyanza.

*Livingstone College Year Book*, 1906. (Livingstone College, Leyton, London, E.) This is a record of a year's work at the College, and of former students in all parts of the world, and contains most useful hints to travellers in tropical countries on matters of health, outfit, and travel. The work ought to be in the hands of missionary students destined to labour in Eastern countries.

*Notes on Africa for Missionary Students.* (London: Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, E.C., 1906.)



The notes are compiled by different hands. The greater part of the first five chapters is taken from various publications of the Society. The other five chapters are new, referring chiefly to Christian mission work. There are also a list of books useful for students, chronological tables, an excellent index, and a map of Africa.

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There has been recently published at Bombay the second instalment of a far-reaching historical work which makes large claims on the attention of students of archaic periods. This portion traces what few tangible records and allusions the author (Mr. Jamshedji Pallonji Kapujia), after prolonged research, has been able to find that throw light on the prehistoric migrations and polity of the Aryan race before its separation into its Iranian and (later) Hindu branches.

Emerging from these dim and distant centuries, Mr. Jamshedji comes within the still early historic period to the close of the Kyanian (Persian) dynasty. Other portions of this monumental survey are nearly complete, and may be issued by the close of the present year.

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We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—C. B. Fry's *Magazine*;—*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney;—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred

Hölder); — *The Contemporary Review*; — *The North American Review*; — *Public Opinion* (London); — *The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London); — *Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.); — *The Canadian Gazette* (London); — *The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London); — *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London); — *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.); — *The Cornhill Magazine*; — *The Zoophilist and Animals Defender* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.); — *Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden); — *Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19); — *The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.); — *The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.); — *The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin); — *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. v., Nos. 3, 4 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1906); — *The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras); — *The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road); — *Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), May, June, and July, 1906 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.); —

*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras);—*The Christian Patriot* (the M. E. Press, Mount Road, Madras);—*Journal of the Moslem Institute*, a quarterly chiefly devoted to subjects of Oriental interest (Calcutta);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd., Toronto);—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Luzac and Co., London; Bombay Education Society's Press, Bombay);—*The Virjanand Magazine* (Partabgarh, Oudh, India);—*Bombay Gazetteer*, vols. ii<sup>b</sup>. to xxiv<sup>b</sup>., and General Index (Government Press, Bombay);—“*The Poisoners; or, As 'Twas in Italy.*” A tragedy, by Edwin Sauter (Saint Louis: Published by the author at the Sign of the Leech, 1331, N. Seventh Street);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Co., publishers, New York and London.)

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We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *Ancient Records of Egypt*: historical documents from the earliest times to the Persian Conquest. Collected, edited, and translated, with commentary, by James Henry Breasted, PH.D. Vols. i., ii., and iii. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906; London: Luzac and Co.; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz);—*The Great Plateau*: being an account of exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905, by Captain C. G. Rawling (London: Edward Arnold, 41 and 43, Maddox Street, Bond Street, 1905);—*With Mounted Infantry in Tibet*, by Brevet-Major W. J. Ottley (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1906);—*A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, by Jane E. Duncan (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1906);—*Afghanistan*, by Angus Hamilton (London: William Heinemann, 1906);—*The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., D. LITT., etc. Vols. i., ii., and iii. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner

and Co., Ltd., Dryden House, Gerrard Street, W., 1905);  
—*Lift Irrigation*, by Alfred Chatterton (G. A. Natesan  
and Co., Madras);—*Researches in Sinai*, by W. M.  
Flinders Petrie (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London);  
—*Asia*. Vol. i., Northern and Eastern Asia, by A. H.  
Keane (E. Stanford, 12-14, Long Acre, London, 1906).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Viceroy has appointed a Committee, consisting of Sir A. T. Arundel, Sir D. C. J. Ibbetson, Mr. H. Erle Richards, and Mr. E. N. Baker, members of the Executive Council, with Mr. Risley as Secretary, to consider various reforms in administration, including the extension of representation in the Legislative Council.

Lord Lamington laid the foundation-stone of the new European Hospital in Poona, the gift of Mr. Jacob Sassoon, to commemorate the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales.

The designation of the cantonment of Mian Mir to be changed to Lahore cantonment has been sanctioned.

The district of Khandesh has been divided into two separate collectorates, to be known as West Khandesh, with headquarters at Dhulia, having an area of 5,903 square miles, a population of 469,654, and a land revenue of 14 $\frac{3}{4}$  lakhs of rupees; East Khandesh, with headquarters at Julgaon, with an area of 4,551 square miles, 957,728 inhabitants, and a land revenue of 26 $\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs. The initial outlay on account of buildings for the new district will be £21,000, and the annual expenditure £5,400.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has sanctioned a grant of Rs. 8,000 towards the cost of building and fitting up a science laboratory in St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

For details of the Budget see under "Correspondence and Notes."

According to a preliminary statement, the receipts in India to the end of June, compared with 1905-1906, are better in land revenue by 37 lakhs, in Excise by 4 lakhs, in Customs by 10 lakhs, in assessed taxes by 4 lakhs, in registration by 1 lakh, and in civil revenue by 25 lakhs; while there is a falling off of 16 lakhs in opium, 14 lakhs in salt, 32 lakhs in provincial rates, and 5 lakhs in forests.

The cash balance on the last day of June amounted to Rs. 17,59,07,000, being 2 lakhs more than on the same date last year. The balance of gold reserve at the close of the half-year was £13,015,048.

The statistics of the overland trade with the countries on the border for last year show an increase of about one crore and a half, as compared with the previous year, the total being 1,684 lakhs. The trade with Nepal showed an increase of nearly one crore, and with Tibet it had increased from  $25\frac{3}{4}$  to  $43\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs. Trade with Cashmere decreased by 5 lakhs, and with Afghanistan there was an increase of 5 lakhs. Burma's trade with the countries on her border grows steadily, and her share in the total was  $437\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs, Bengal  $381\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs.

The income of the East India Railways during the first six months of the current year was 42 lakhs (£2,826,666), or 23 lakhs (£153,332), being the highest record.

The number of persons under State relief throughout India at present exceeds 252,000.

Sir J. Bampfylde Fuller having resigned the Lieutenant-Governorship of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Mr. Lancelot Hare, C.S.I., C.I.E., has been appointed in his stead, and he will be succeeded by Mr. Francis Slacke, a Commissioner and member of the Legislative Council.

Babu Radha Charan Pal and Mr. J. R. Bertram have become members of the Bengal Legislative Council.

Mr. Macpherson, member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, has become a member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

The Hon. Mr. H. A. Slim, C.I.E., having resigned as a member of the Viceroy's Council, Mr. Gordon Walker takes his place.

Major Sir Francis Younghusband is appointed Resident of Cashmere.

Mr. J. E. Phillimore, I.C.S., has been appointed District Sessions Judge of Sylhet and Cachar.

Dr. Asutosh Mukerji has been appointed a Judge of the

High Court of Judicature at Fort William, in place of Mr. Justice Henderson, deceased.

Mr. J. P. Hewett has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Agra and Oudh.

Sir Denziel C. J. Ibbetson, K.C.S.I., has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in succession to Sir Charles Rivaz, K.C.S.I.

The total amount expended in 1905-1906 on minor irrigation works in the Madras Presidency was Rs. 8,59,857, or 93·3 per cent. of the total allotment sanctioned for the year.

The Madras Government has sanctioned the sum of Rs. 1,15,600 for the construction of an anicut across the Gundlakamma River, and the excavation of a supply channel therefrom to Markapurталuk.

The Hon. L. C. Miller and the Hon. Mr. J. E. P. Wallis have been appointed Judges of the Madras High Court, in succession to Sir James Davis and Mr. Justice Moore.

BURMA.—The foreign trade (excluding Government transactions) for the year 1905-1906 amounted to 2,384 lakhs, as against 2,542 lakhs in the previous year. The total coasting trade was 1,888 lakhs, as against 1,675 lakhs in the previous year. The aggregate trade in 1905-1906 was Rs. 42,18,00,240. The net Customs duty collected during the year was Rs. 1,40,68,674, as against Rs. 1,57,07,037 during the preceding year.

The total estimated area under cotton for the year 1906-1907 in all the sixteen cotton-growing districts is 188,694 acres, an increase of 6,659 acres over last year. In Sagaing and Meiktila there have been increases of about 5,500 acres and 1,200 acres respectively ; while in Myingyan there has been a decrease, owing to the lateness of the rains, of nearly 1,000 acres.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES. — The royalty paid to the Mysore Government from the gold-mines in the State for the year 1904 was nearly Rs. 17,42,462, as compared with Rs. 17,31,357 for 1903, an increase of Rs. 11,105.

The Bahawalpur State has decided to build a railway from Khanpur to Cha Chaman, on the Indus line. It will be twenty-two miles in length, comprising four stations.

The Maharaja of Travancore has accepted the appointment of Mr. S. Gopalachariar as Dewan of Travancore.

The Jam of Jamnagar, one of the principal chiefs of Kathiawar having died, the succession has passed to the direct heir.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—The Khan of Dir, having acted contrary to the provisions of the Chakdara Agreement, moved his forces in August against the Khans of Robat and Barjholi. He captured Birun and besieged the fort of Robat Khan, who surrendered.

A raiding gang was successfully routed by a party of Kyber Rifles, under Captain Bickford, on July 26, at Gandao. Two outlaws, named Rasul and Twaiyib, were killed and several others taken prisoners. The outlaw Rasul had taken part in at least two serious raids in the Peshawar district in the early part of the year.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Ameer has started cotton and silk-weaving factories in several of the cities in his territory, and is actively endeavouring to foster the industries. He declares that henceforth education will be the sole path to State employment.

It is expected that the meeting of the Ameer of Afghanistan with the Viceroy of India will take place in December, and probably he will leave Jalabad on December 17. There may be 25,000 troops taking part in a military demonstration.

PERSIA.—Sir Cecil Spring Rice has left England for Teheran, to assume his new duties as British Minister in Persia.

In consequence of disturbances and demands by the people for "self-government," the Shah has promised to grant a Parliament representing the various classes of the population.



PERSIAN GULF AND MASKAT.—The last Consular report in relation to Koweit shows that the trade has risen from Rs. 35,65,894 to Rs. 59,73,251.

The trade of Bahrein has increased during the past year, the imports from Rs. 1,48,84,129 (£992,275) to Rs. 2,43,01,519 (£1,620,169); the exports from Rs. 1,35,07,491 (£900,499) to Rs. 2,04,50,643 (£1,363,409).

YEMEN.—It is stated that in July sixteen battalions of Turkish reserves near Sana had mutinied. The mutineers, after some hundreds had been killed, surrendered.

An Iradé was issued in July calling out 17,000 recruits for service in Yemen.

CHINA: HONG KONG.—Sir Henry Spencer Berkeley (Attorney-General) has been appointed His Majesty's Consul for the Colony of Hong Kong; Berthold George Tours, Vice-Consul at Chung-king.

Two sections (ninety-one miles) of the Shanghai-Nanking Railway were opened on July 16.

A plot was formed by a gang of disguised pirates to seize a British steamer, trading between Canton and Wu-Chau, but was frustrated, and three of the ringleaders captured and handed over to the British Consul at Wu-Chau.

Attorney-General Wilfley, of the Philippines, has been appointed Judge of the United States Court in China. The Consuls will be limited to small cases. An appeal may be taken to the United States Court. The headquarters of the new court is at Shanghai, and includes the principal Chinese cities.

MANCHURIA.—The Japanese Government opened Dalney on September 1 as a free port.

Japanese troops have been withdrawn from Feng-tien (Mukden province), and the following places are opened to international trade—viz., Tich-ling, Tung-chang-tza, and Fa-ku-men.

JAPAN.—Baron Komura, the new Japanese Ambassador to the Court of St. James, arrived in London on August 16. General Oku has been appointed to succeed the late

General Viscount Kodama as Chief of the General Staff of the Japanese Army.

The foreign trade for the first six months of the present year shows an increase of 20,000,000 yen (£2,000,000) in exports, and a decrease of 60,000,000 yen (£6,000,000) in imports, as compared with the corresponding period of 1905.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS. — Mr. Hugh Fort, Barrister-at-law, has been appointed an unofficial member of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements.

The Legislative Council has passed a resolution to the effect that it is expedient to incorporate Labuan with the colony.

Mr. William Paterson Waddell has been appointed Consul of Norway at Singapore for the Straits Settlements.

CEYLON.—The revenue of the colony for the first half of this year amounted to Rs. 16,753,368, showing a net increase of Rs. 1,682,866 over the same period of last year.

The Customs revenue of the Central Provinces for the same period of this year amounted to Rs. 5,121,089, against Rs. 4,984,334.

The total export of black tea to all countries during this year to August 20 amounted to 107,945,857 lb., as compared with 105,642,870 lb. for the same period of 1905. The export of green tea for the same period was 1,948,087 lb., as compared with 1,717,352 lb. for the corresponding period of 1905.

Sir Joseph Turner Hutchinson, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Cyprus, has been appointed Chief Justice of the Island of Ceylon.

Mr. Thomas Barcroft Lewis Moonemalle has been appointed an unofficial member of the Legislative Council to represent the Kandyan Sinhalese.

Mr. E. B. Creasy has been appointed Consul of Norway at Colombo for Ceylon.

AFRICA : TRANSVAAL.—Lord Selborne has announced

that natives who work three months in the year shall pay only £1 hut-tax, instead of £2. Cape "boys" will be exempt, as they are not natives.

AFRICA: ORANGE RIVER.—The revenue of 1905-1906 amounted to £760,200; the expenditure to £758,800. The imports for the year ended March 31 showed a decrease of £100,000, but there was an increase of £654,000 in the exports. The wool export had increased from £413,000 to £546,000, the largest amount yet recorded.

AFRICA: NATAL.—With reference to the rising in Natal, referred to in our last issue, Sigamanda and six of his sons were tried for treason and rebellion at Nkandhla. He, with four of his sons, were convicted, and two were acquitted. There were further additions to the insurrection on the Tugela, in which 4,000 rebels took part. At the fight at Noodsburg and other districts many natives were killed. Mesini's Impis were afterwards dispersed, and many of his followers killed. Mesini and Nahloonkatimuni, the two important rebel chiefs, surrendered with some of their followers, and the rebellion gradually came to an end. Colonel Mackenzie on July 28 stated that the rebellion in Natal and Zululand was at an end. A composite regiment of 500 men was to be formed to remain in the field for six months. He said that over 2,000 rebels had been killed, and about 3,000 taken prisoners.

AFRICA: CAPE COLONY.—The revenue for 1905-1906 was £8,269,299; the expenditure £8,264,671.

EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA PROTECTORATE.—The Secretary of State proposes, at an early date, that Letters Patent be issued for the establishment of a Legislative Council in the East Africa Protectorate, which will include unofficial members nominated by the Crown.

NIGERIA.—An International Commission was convened in London in the spring to prepare a definite Convention relative to the delimitation of the French and English territories between the Niger and Lake Chad. The new

frontier gives France the sultanates of Maouri Adar, Kouni, Gober, and Maradi. The French Colonial Office has chosen the members of the mission which is to mark out on the spot the frontier thus defined in London. France obtains the trade route from Niger to Lake Chad, between Saij and Dosso, and traversing Dosso, Matanpari, Kouni, Tibiri, Maradi, Zinder, Adebour, and Kabi. The Government has renounced authority over the tribes transferred to French suzerainty. The two missions will start shortly.

SOUTHERN NIGERIA.—Mr. J. J. Thorburn, Colonial Secretary, has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor.

The rebels belonging to the Ekumeiku Society, who murdered Mr. Oswald Crewe Reid, have been punished.

The punitive operations in Southern Nigeria are meeting with considerable resistance. One English officer and thirteen natives have been killed by an explosion of tonite whilst clearing a Niger waterway.

The chief Nana has been allowed to return to Southern Nigeria and to settle at a town called America, in Benin River. An allowance of £10 a month will be paid to him for two years, after which he may be able to support himself.

A native rising has taken place at Agtor, from some difficulty with the natives of Owa, who were engaged in constructing the Benin-Asaba road. The British Commissioner was killed by the son of the King of Owa. Captain Rudkin, with one and a half companies of the West Frontier Force, marched from Asaba. He attacked a combined native force from Owa, Uteh, and Owanta. The natives were driven off, and, having effected a junction with Captain Wayling, the disturbance was stopped.

AUSTRALIA: THE COMMONWEALTH.—The revenue for the past year amounted to £11,880,000, being £492,000 in excess of the estimates. The exports were £57,000,000; imports, £38,000,000.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The expenditure during the

past financial year was £11,389,707, leaving a surplus of £902,305.

The total value of production and industries for 1905 was £46,692,000, representing £31 11s. 6d. per head of the population, as compared with £39,382,000 in 1904.

The population on June 30 was 1,540,240, an increase of 9,540 for the quarter, including an excess of births over deaths of 6,691.

There was a surplus in the revenue of £896,124.

The minerals of the State are worth £7,000,000 a year: Gold, £1,000,000; silver, £2,500,000; coal, £2,000,000; copper, £500,000; tin and zinc, £500,000. Experts estimate that the coal-fields which are at present known contain £40,000,000,000 worth of workable coal.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue for the past financial year amounted to £3,854,000; the expenditure, £3,726,000.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the year ended June 30 was £3,558,939; expenditure, £3,632,318.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The Legislative Assembly passed by a large majority the Government Bill for the reduction of the franchise qualification for the Legislative Council from £25 to £15.

On August 30 the Hon. A. H. Peake, on presenting his Budget, said that during the year the population had increased nearly 6,000; the death-rate was the lowest on record. There was a surplus of £87,500 in the revenue, the largest for fifteen years. The sum of £185,000 had been appropriated from revenue for the reduction of the Public Debt. The season had been good. The rainfall was the heaviest for many years. Harvest prospects were excellent. The sheep numbered 6,500,000, and the wool exports were valued at £1,250,000.

NEW ZEALAND.—The new Ministry has been formed as follows: Sir Joseph Ward, Premier, Colonial Treasurer, and Minister of Industries and Commerce; Mr. Hall-Jones, Minister of Public Works and Railways; Mr. Carroll, Minister of Native Affairs; Mr. Pitt, Attorney-General,

Minister of Defence, and Colonial Secretary; Mr. McGowan, Minister of Justice, Mines, and Immigration; Mr. Millar, Minister of Marine, Labour, and Customs; Mr. McNab, Minister of Lands and Agriculture; and Mr. Fowlds, Minister of Education and Public Health.

On August 28 the Prime Minister, in his Budget, said there was a surplus of £788,795 in the last financial year. The Public Debt had increased by £2,266,839. The colony's balance of assets over liabilities amounted to £255,015,321. The white population of the colony increased from 117,000 to 890,000 in five years.

Sir John Gorst has been appointed Special Commissioner to represent the British Government at the New Zealand and International Exhibition, which is to be opened at Christchurch on November 1.

CANADA.—The revenue for the eleven months of the fiscal year ending May 31 was \$71,012,213, compared with \$63,324,329 for the same period of the last year, being an increase of \$7,688,884.

The foreign trade for the year ending June 30 amounted to £110,400,000, an increase of £16,400,000 over that of the previous year. The imports for the same period increased more than £5,600,000, and exports more than £10,600,000. Exports of Canadian farm produce increased more than £5,400,000; forest produce, £1,000,000; fisheries, £1,000,000; and manufactures, £700,000. These figures show the unprecedented prosperity and increased development of the country.

The Dominion paid in bounties on industrial products during the last financial year a total of £616,480.

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*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following: Deputy-Surgeon-General Theobald Ringer, M.D., Indian Medical Service, late 7th Bengal Cavalry (Lucknow and Delhi);—Hugh Vachell Bradley, Major 9th Goorkha Rifles (Lushai 1889, Manipore 1891, Tirah campaign 1897-98); Major-General

A. M. Rainey, Indian Army (Bellary Field Force 1858-59);—Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Hamilton (Crimea, Inkerman, Sebastopol, Cawnpore, Bhognapore, Culpee, Oude); Colonel A. R. T. McRae, Bombay Army (retired);—Thomas Robertson, c.v.o., late General Manager Great Northern Railway, Ireland, afterwards Chairman Irish Board of Works, and latterly Special Commissioner on Indian Railways;—Major Nicol Grahame Fraser, Poona Horse, Bombay, entered 1888 (Chin-Lushai Field Force 1889-90, Chitral 1895, Mohmund 1897); William Knox Johnson, Indian Educational Service;—Major MacCarthy R. E. Ray, D.S.O., Indian Army, D.A.O.M.G (Intelligence Branch); Captain J. D. Macpherson, 91st Punjabis;—Major-General H. G. White, late Royal Scots, entered 1853 (Crimea, Sebastopol, Redan, Indian Mutiny); Colonel Mark Lever Bell, v.c., c.B. (Bhootan Field Force 1865-66, Hazara campaign, 1868, Ashantee 1873-74, Burma 1886-87, Aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria, 1887);—Colonel Francis George Savage Curtis, c.m.g., late 6th Dragoons, joined 1854 (Crimea 1855, Indian Mutiny, Delhi, Transvaal 1881);—H. J. Tedder, I.C.S., Assistant Commissioner of Fyzabad;—Rev. Canon A. Saunders Dyer, M.A., F.S.A., Indian Chaplain;—General Sir John Forbes, Poomba Cavalry, entered 1835 (Afghan war 1841-42);—Major-General R. W. Hinxman, 60th Regiment, entered 1849 (Indian Mutiny);—Commander F. C. W. Liardet, R.N. (Kaffir war 1851-52, Burmese 1852);—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Crosssthaite, Royal Regiment of Artillery, entered 1859 (Afghan war 1880, Tel-el-Kebir 1882);—Captain F. H. Johnstone, late Indian Army;—Major Best, 34th Regiment (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Colonel William Spottiswoode Sparkes, entered 1888 (Sudan);—Captain J. T. Coley, Senior Veterinary Officer at Rawal Pindi;—Major-General Patrick Maxwell, Indian Staff Corps, retired (Punjab campaign, 1848-49, Mutiny 1857);—Thomas Dawes, late Lieutenant-Colonel in the Bengal Staff Corps and 17th Bengal Infantry;—Charles William Agnew

Bruce, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Burma ;—Gordon Andrew Duff, Second Lieutenant, attached West Yorkshire Regiment in India ;—Captain George Bennett Gosling, entered Rifle Brigade 1892 (North-west Frontier campaign 1897-98, Alexander Gosling expedition in Nigeria and Central Africa 1904) ;—Andrew Hannah, late of Serajgunge, Bengal ;—W. C. Bonnerjee, Barrister-at-law, Calcutta ;—John Walter Stanley Sutherland, late Major 4th East Surrey Regiment, India ;—Alexander Martin Lindsay, C.I.E., Bank of Bengal ;—Major-General F. Wheeler, Bengal Staff Corps, entered 1854 ;—Charles Richard Capel Sandys, Lieutenant Indian Army ;—Maung Hla Oung, Comptroller of Indian Treasuries ;—Deputy-Surgeon-General Edward Taylor, H.M. Bengal Army, retired ;—Howard Tripp, Government Service, India ;—Colonel Henry William Blair, late Indian Staff Corps, joined 1857 ;—Colonel C. N. Judge, Royal Bengal Engineers, entered 1855 (Lucknow) ;—Colonel E. S. Ludlow, C.I.E., Indian Staff Corps, entered 1858 (Indian Mutiny) ;—Augustus Brooke Warden, Judge of High Court of Bombay ;—Major-General H. P. Peacock, Bengal Cavalry, joined 1856 (Indian Mutiny campaign, 1857-58, Lucknow) ;—Colonel Fitzroy Stephen, C.B., entered 1855 (Indian campaign 1857-58, Lucknow, North-West Frontier campaign 1863-64, Afghan war 1878-79) ;—Colonel W. E. Saunders, Principal Medical Officer of the Meerut Division ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Walker Butler Boyd, F.R.C.S., Indian Medical Service ;—General Padma Jung, Bahadur Rana (Oude 1857-58) ;—General William Martin Cope, V.C., late Indian Army, joined 1842 (Maharajpore 1843, Punjab campaign 1848-49, Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Taylor, late Bengal Staff Corps ;—Lieutenant-Colonel H. G. Burton, 53rd Sikhs, Indian Army (several campaigns—including Chitral expeditions) ;—Colonel A. W. McKinstry (Afghan war 1878-79) ;—George Collingwood Kynoch, late Chief Collector of Customs, Burma ;—Rev. Peter John Jarbo



ordained 1853, served many years in India;—Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. M. Hall (Brigade Transport Officer with the Bombay forces during campaign of 1879-80;—William Wybergh James, Captain 20th Hussars;—Mr. Justice Budrudin Tyabji, Bombay High Court;—Colonel C. H. P. Christie, Public Works Department;—Major F. Drake, entered 1847 (Mirzapore 1857, Mungarwar, Alumbagh, Lucknow, Oude);—Alexander Pennycuik, C.I.E., late Rangoon, 1897-1900 Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma;—Captain C. B. Farwell, R.E. (Tirah Expeditionary Force, North-West Frontier of India 1897-98);—Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Leigh, 2nd Punjab Volunteer Rifles;—C. H. Antram, late Postmaster, Rangoon;—Lieutenant-General William Hall Caine, Royal Artillery, Madras;—Captain Joseph Edward Mortimer, 15th East Yorkshire Regiment;—Major-General R. H. Inglis, Indian Army, entered 1858 (Bhootan expedition 1865-66, Afghan war 1879);—Lieutenant-Colonel Proudfoot, Madras Army (retired);—Lieutenant C. W. T. Wilson, Assistant Commissioner, Supply and Transport Corps (Egypt, Burma, and North-West Frontier);—Charles Baron Clarke, M.A., F.R.S., in 1865 Educational Department of the Bengal Government, 1884 Officiating Director of Public Instruction, transferred to Assam as Inspector of Schools, 1885;—Lieutenant George Francis Bloomfield Gough, R.E., Pachmarchi, India;—Lieutenant-Colonel M. Raynsford, late Indian Staff Corps (Sepoy Mutiny);—Major-General W. H. Edgcome, R.E., late of India;—Major-General J. J. Jenkins, Indian Army (retired);—Charles Gurdon Kemball, late Judge High Court, Bombay.

*September 13, 1906.*



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